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KINGSTON ONTARIO CANADA

Faction Detected,

BY THE

EVIDENCE

OF

FACTS.

CONTAINING

An Impartial VIEW of PARTIES at Home, and AFFAIRS Abroad.

Quo quò ſceleſti ruitis? Aut cur dexteris
Aptantur enſes conditi?
Non ut ſuperbas invidæ Carthaginis
Romanus arces ureret:
Sed ut, ſecundum vota Parthorum, ſuâ
Urbs hæc periret dexterâ.
Neque hic lupis mos, nec fuit leonibus
Unquam niſi in diſpar feris.
Furorne cæcus, an rapit vis acrior:
An culpa? Reſponſum date.
Tacent, & ora pallor albus inficit,
Menteſque perculſæ ſtupent.

Hor. Epod. Od. VII.

The SECOND EDITION.

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ERRATA.

PAge 147. line 35. instead of *Influence upon the Legislatu* read *Influence upon the other Members of the Legislatur* p. 171. l. 42. instead of *by* read *thro'*; p. 173. l. 6. dele *la* p. 174. l. 43. instead of *fomented* read *inflamed.*

Faction Detected,

BY THE

EVIDENCE of FACTS.

OPPOSITION to the Measures of Government, whether good or bad, is no new thing in this or any other Country, where the People have any Share in the Legislature. For wherever that Circumstance is found, the Materials for the Advancement of private Views abundantly occur: And in proportion to the Importance of such a Country, Subjects ambitious of Preferment have more Incentives to urge them on to Pursuits of this Nature, more Instruments to assist them in their Undertaking, and more Pretexts to delude and to impose upon the Multitude. The Employments in such a Country must of Necessity be numerous and lucrative, the Engagements of the Publick frequent and expensive, the Dangers from its Neighbours greater, their Jealousy and Ill-will more to be apprehended, and consequently with more Privacy and Caution counteracted. This enables artful Men to raise Murmurs against the most necessary Charges of the State, and to quarrel with the best Means of Publick Security with a manifest Advantage, because it is easy to dispute the Wisdom of Measures, which can never be intirely disclosed, till they are fully executed; and the Poison infused into the People has performed its Operation before the Nature of the thing can possibly admit a Detection of the Falsities and Misrepresentations employed against them; while the Publick, already prejudiced, never give themselves the Trouble to examine what is past; either taking more Delight in the Discovery of Error, than in the Pursuit of Truth; or not having the Means furnished with equal Industry, or being diverted by some fresh Objection, started to some new Conduct.

In proportion to the Riches of any Country, Poverty becomes more pressing upon many by a natural Contrast. In all such Countries the Wretched are certainly more wretched than in others which flourish less; because the Necessaries of Life are dear, and not to be had without that Industry, which

Numbers

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Numbers will be found to want, in all Places, however opportune the Means of Employment may be; and Men of this kind may be induſtrious in a Faction, which is carried on by Noiſe, Drunkenneſs and Riot, when they can be ſo in nothing elſe. In all trading Countries the Proſpect of Gain allures many to adventurous Undertakings above their Abilities, by which ſome muſt be undone, and theſe never fail to attribute to Miſmanagements of Government, thoſe Evils which ariſe from their own Sloth, Incapacity or Avarice.——Again, in ſuch Countries, the Luxury of ſome induces others to follow them in the ſame Expence, to the Ruin of themſelves and of their Families, and the Generality of theſe unite in Views of a like Nature.——As in all populous Countries, from a Variety of Diſtreſs, ſuch Objects muſt be very numerous; ſo from the very Numbers of a People alone, Faction always derives a great Advantage, ſince from the Difference of Diſpoſitions, with which Men are born into the World, ſome will infallibly ariſe from time to time, framed by Nature itſelf of a reſtleſs and diſcontented Temper; form'd, whether they have Cauſe for it or not, to be as well a Torment to themſelves, as a Plague to the Society in which they live.——Nor can Oppoſition, right or wrong, want even Property to gild it over and to grace it; for Men ariſing from the loweſt Level of the People, and advancing into conſiderable and eaſy Fortunes, are by a natural Conſequence, too often led to conſpire againſt that very Felicity, Peace, Quiet and Proſperity, to which alone they have owed their Exiſtence.——Arrogance and Pride, without a more than common Share of Underſtanding, are the univerſal Product of all haſty Advancement. Theſe Men repine at what they never before had Leiſure to conſider; that there is ſtill a certain Difference between their Condition and that of another Rank, which they cannot remedy by all their Efforts to exceed them in Expence.——This ſomething, which they find ſtill wanting, ſours them with their own State, and inclines them to fall in with any popular Diſcontent; partly, to gratify their Vanity in inſulting thoſe above them; and partly, to create a Chaos, out of which they hope to emerge upon a Level with thoſe they envy.—From whence the Obſervation holds moſt true, That all Nations, in proportion to their Increaſe, grow turbulent and factious, and from this Quarter ariſe thoſe levelling Schemes, in the Contention for which, ſooner or later, Anarchy enſues; and in proceſs of time, the Loſs of that real Liberty, whoſe ſacred Name is ſo often ſpeciouſly prophaned by Malice and Ambition. Even Liberty itſelf, the more perfect it is, produces theſe Effects more ſtrongly;

for

for Wantonneſs and Licentiouſneſs, which are its evil Genii, tempt all depraved Tempers to abuſe it, and expoſe many to the Laſh of the Laws, and to the juſt Indignation of Power; which none, who feel, forgive, however they deſerve it. At the ſame time, the natural Tendancy in all Mankind to expect more Favour than they merit, provokes unjuſt Reſentments againſt Government, and a certain Infirmity (of which we all in ſome Degree partake) to be uneaſy with what we have, and to endeavour after more, inclines Multitudes, either out of Views of private Benefit to themſelves, or general Views of Encreaſe of Privilege to the Order in which they ſtand, to follow any Set of Men, who take the Lead in Oppoſition of any kind.——— All theſe move by a ſecret Principle to that Quarter where it erects its Standard, be it juſt or unjuſt, be it to ſave or to deſtroy their Country.

It is obvious from hence, and it is a Truth that cannot be diſputed, however it may affect the Credit of many pretended Patriots, that the *diſcontented Party* of all Denominations conſiſt *in general* of Men of no Principle, and of very unworthy Character. Its Root is always the ſame;—but indeed its Effects are very different. It becomes in ſome Conjunctures of very beneficial Conſequence, when it is led by Men of honeſt Views; and equally pernicious in others, when conducted by Men of a different Character.—In the firſt Caſe, it is an *Oppoſition*; in the ſecond it is a *Faction*.

Faction is of two kinds in this Country.——*Oppoſition led by Republicans*; and *Oppoſition led by Jacobites*;——Of the two great Parties into which this Nation has been long divided---the *Whigs* (though not *Republicans*) have formerly joined the firſt——the *Tories* (though not *Jacobites*) do conſtantly abet the laſt.——They who know the Nature of this Country, who are acquainted with our Hiſtory, need no Definition or Deſcription of theſe two Parties, and all who are capable of Obſervation and Reflection can eaſily trace the Reaſons of their reſpective Conduct. It is therefore ſufficient for us in this Place, that this is a Fact, which cannot be denied; and without a zealous Attachment of one or other of theſe two Parties, Faction is incapable of doing much Prejudice to *Britain*.

A Faction of the former kind once deſtroyed the Liberties and Conſtitution of this Nation. It grew up unobſerved with the great Improvements of its Commerce, and was nouriſhed in the uncommon Meaſure of Proſperity, which aroſe from a long Tranquillity, and a wonderful Encreaſe of Wealth after the Diſcovery of the *Weſt-Indies*, which diffuſed itſelf through

through the *Commons*, and gave them Ability to contend with a *Prince*, who, ignorant of this new acquired Vigour of the People, and vainly fond of Power, provoked it by avowed Attempts to introduce an abſolute Authority.

This Faction, by the Imprudence of that Prince, appeared at firſt no more than an honeſt Oppoſition. But abetted at length by the Majority of the Nation, (who neither perceived how dangerous it was, nor could have well avoided joining with it, if they had, to preſerve themſelves againſt the violent Attack then made upon their Freedom,) grew too ſtrong both for the Prince and for the Laws. The miſerable Conſequences that it brought upon us are related at large in the Hiſtories of *England* from 1642 to 1660.

Theſe Evils of Faction in a Republican Form, prevented its Revival again in the ſame Shape.—The People of *England* had (ſince the Union of the two Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*) never ſeen it in another.—They therefore feared it in no other. This gave it Opportunity to ſhew itſelf in a new Form, and Oppoſition became again a Faction in the Reign of the late King *William*, and a Faction of a much more dangerous Nature than the firſt.

For whereas the Republicans, who are the Leaders of the firſt Faction, are in this Country little more than Whigs overheated by Oppreſſion, and an extravagant Abuſe of Power; as in reality there is very little of that Principle exiſting among Men of Property and Fortune, and as it is chiefly confined to Men of an inferior Claſs; they may be eaſily brought to moderate their Views by what it is in the Power of every honeſt Government to apply: But the Leaders of the ſecond Faction ſet out with Expectations, that no Government, without being *felo de ſe*, can gratify. For they ſet out upon the View of changing the Prince upon the Throne, and in neceſſary Conſequence to transform the Conſtitution and Religion of the Kingdom.

In a word, a Jacobite Faction aſſumed the Shape of Oppoſition in that Reign; that is, the People under the Circumſtances I have mentioned, and the Diſcontented of all Denominations acted in a Party, directed either ſecretly or openly by Leaders, whoſe Views intended the Reſtoration of King *James* II. or of his Family.

Now that this Faction was more dangerous than that which had appeared before, is farther manifeſt from hence. That the *Republicans profeſſed a Principle*, and of a kind, which led them to do very great and glorious things. Their Zeal was indeed miſtaken, but it claſhed in its Purſuit, neither with the Honour nor the Independency of their Country, and the Strength of this

this Party lay in the Acceſſion of thoſe who had the greateſt Share of Senſe and Honeſty.—They were therefore ſteady in every Conjuncture to defend the Nation againſt its Enemies abroad, and particularly againſt its moſt dangerous Enemy of all the *French*; and unleſs in Times of extream and rare Neceſſity, were deſerted conſtantly by their *Auxiliaries the Whigs*, before they could bring their Scheme to any mature Effect.

But the *Jacobite Faction profeſſed no Principle at all*, or ſuch as deſerves the Name of none.—They had indeed a View, but it was private Title, the Intereſt of one Man, and of one Family. An Object in itſelf unworthy any Party, and criminal too in the higheſt Degree, in this Inſtance, becauſe it was the private Title, and the Intereſt of a Man and Family, who by their Education and Religion were nouriſhed in a fatal Enmity to their Country.—Theſe Men therefore, from the indiſpenſible Nature of this their firſt View, could be animated with no good Sentiment for the Publick, and from the Circumſtances of their Caſe, were obliged to aſſiſt the Ambition, ſupport the Power, and abet the Views of *France*, by whoſe Force alone they could hope to bring their Point to bear. Their Oppoſition therefore tended in every Step to deſtroy the Honour and Independency of their own Country. The Strength of their Party lay in the Acceſſion of thoſe who were the weakeſt and moſt diſhoneſt Men; for who elſe could join in ſuch a View as this; and therefore as all who furniſhed them Aſſiſtance muſt be either tainted in their Principles to their Country, or wrong in their Heads before they could engage with them, their Conduct was conſtant, or wilful Error; and thus their *Auxiliaries the Tories*, if ever they ſeparated from their Faction, never did it till it was almoſt too late, and never ſaw that they were deceived, or that they blindly concurred to the Ruin of their Country, till that Ruin was at the very Gate.

It is viſible from hence, that there is much leſs Danger from a *Republican* than from a *Jacobite*; or in ſofter Terms, from a *Whig* than from a *Tory Oppoſition*. A Whig Oppoſition is therefore that alone with which the People for many Years have ventured to concur, and the only one with which they can *for a Moment* concur ſafely.

But even when they follow this, they are not *always* without Danger. For when Oppoſition under any Title riſes high, and becomes formidable, demanding ſuch Terms, as Government is honeſtly under equal and real Difficulty either to grant or to refuſe, the Symptoms are ſtrong, and the Suſpicion generally juſt, that ſuch an *Oppoſition* is converted into *Faction*.—Nor can the Generality of Men diſtinguiſh eaſily of what Species it may be; for both the *Republican Principles*, and

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the *Jacobite Views*, being long ſince ſufficiently detected, and being therefore both become deteſtable to all honeſt Men; both the one and the other are extreamly careful not to avow their reſpective Purſuits.—When they take off the Maſk with greateſt Freedom, the *Republicans* denominate their Faction by no harſher Name than that of a *Whig*, nor the *Jacobites* than that of a *Tory Oppoſition*.—Nor would the *Whigs* be brought to ſupport the one, nor the *Tories* to abet the other without this Artifice; and yet by this Deluſion of Names, both Parties have been at different Times led on till they have very near deſtroyed the Conſtitution. In fact, every Faction will, without Scruple, aſſume any Appellation to impoſe upon Mankind; and the moſt inveterate Jacobite Faction, to carry its View, will profeſs to act upon a Whig Principle, when that becomes the favourite Principle, as it is at this Time. An Oppoſition therefore may become *Republican* or *Jacobite*, when the Vulgar little conceive it to be either. The Judgment muſt be formed not upon what Men call themſelves, but upon what they do, upon what they act, upon what is the viſible Tendency of their Meaſures and Purſuits.—Whether they are a Faction or not, or of what Species their Faction is, can be determined only by their Conduct, and may be infallibly determined by that means. Now the Criterion of a Whig Conduct, *is* (as may be collected from what we have already obſerved) *to reſiſt and reduce the Power*, and the Criterion of a Jacobite or Tory Faction, *directly or indirectly, to aſſiſt, encourage, and ſupport the Intereſts of* France.

This I have premiſed to give a general Idea of the Nature of Oppoſition, and of Faction in this Country, that I may with more Facility lay open to the Publick what I have to offer as to the Oppoſition of this Time—and which I think it my Duty to offer, becauſe I will be bold to affirm, that they are groſsly deceived in it, and that inſtead of purſuing a Whig Oppoſition, which they conceive it to be, they now abet and ſupport *a Tory Oppoſition, and a Jacobite Faction, which from the Circumſtances of this Time, and the Impudence of its proceeding, is become more dangerous than ever that Faction yet has been in this Nation.*

Had this been aſſerted two Years ago, it would have met with nothing but Ridicule, and it would have been impoſſible to have induced the Majority of the People of *England* to have believed that the Jacobites could have ever given this Country any Uneaſineſs again.—The Reaſon is very evident.

All the ill Humours of the Nation collected together had, for ſeveral Years laſt paſt, combined a very ſtrong Oppoſition; but this Oppoſition was led by Whigs, by Men known to be of this Principle, and they had the Aſcendant both

both by their ſuperior Abilities and Experience, and by the Turn of the Nation, to ſuch a Degree, that they kept down all Efforts of the Jacobites. They directed the Means of Oppoſition; and the Tendency was therefore to Points wholly free from any Symptoms of that kind. The Tories and Jacobites ſullenly worked on under theſe Leaders, and could never attain any Degree of Influence over Men of better Parts, and better Principles; they knew not directly whither they were going, but they hoped towards Confuſion, and that they might have a Chance to work out ſomething if that Confuſion ſhould ariſe.—The People at the Beginning of that Oppoſition, which laſted near twenty Years, were living in great Numbers, who remembered the Conduct of this Faction in the Reign of King *William* and Queen *Anne*.—They remembered how, after King *William* was ſeated upon the Throne, and after being grown deteſtable by various Attempts of Plots and Aſſaſſinations, they had been obliged to ſoften their true Name into that of *Tory*; how under that Title they had diſclaimed their ſecret Tenet, and profeſſed only to maintain certain Opinions as to *Church and State*, which had been plauſibly introduced among the People in the great Rebellion by the Clergy, and inculcated from the Pulpit, to make a Party againſt the violent Doctrines of the Republicans of that Time.—The wrong Opinions of the one begot thoſe wrong Opinions of the other: And though the *Paſſion of the firſt* had been diſgraced by the Iſſue of that Rebellion, the *Nonſenſe of the other* had not yet diſgraced itſelf ſo far.—The *Preſbyterians* had ruined both the Church and Monarchy; but the *High Churchmen* had not brought in Popery and arbitrary Power, they had even aſſiſted (at laſt) in ſome Degree at the Revolution to keep it out—The Publick in general were not able to judge but of what they ſaw; and they did not ſee how near they were to have done both before they had the Senſe to ſtop, nor how they were puzzled to reconcile their Nonſenſe with that Conduct. Theſe therefore were the favourite Party of that Time.—Of theſe the *Jacobites* laid hold:—All this the People, during the late Oppoſition, ſaw very clearly; (for many, as I have obſerved, were at the Commencement of it living, when the *Jacobites*, thus under the Name of *Tories*, led the Oppoſition of that Time;) how the People were deluded by it; whither they were carried, and what Pretences they had uſed.

They remembered that this Faction ſet out with a furious pretended Zeal for *Monarchy*, *Non-Reſiſtance*, and *Hereditary Right*; they remembered how they ſtirred up the People

with *imaginary Dangers about the Church*; they remembered above all the infamous Endeavours uſed to diſtreſs the Government in its Attempt *to reduce the Power of* France, and to prevent the Exertion of our own Weight to maintain the Ballance of *Europe*.—The various Means exerciſed by different Perſons at the ſame time according to their different Capacities to effect this End, and according to the different Capacities of thoſe upon whom they practiſed—ſometimes pretending that we had nothing to do with Affairs upon the Continent—ſometimes that the View of reducing *France* was impracticable, that the Expence was not poſſible to be borne, that our Trade was ruined—ſometimes that *France* was really not dangerous—equally magnifying every Succeſs of that Power to terrify, equally miſrepreſenting every Defeat to betray their Countrymen into a falſe Security—ridiculing every Meaſure that was taken for that End—inſinuating, that the King was a *Dutchman*, and had only the Intereſt of *Holland* at Heart—that every Alliance was made for the Intereſt of the *Dutch* alone—that the Nation was beggared for a Foreign View—that the King delighted in War, becauſe it afforded a Pretext to maintain great Armies—that *Holland* was not yet attacked, and the *French* King, whatever he propoſed, could never be raſh enough to attempt that—at leaſt that till he did attempt it, this Nation had no Reaſon to ſtir, nor any thing to fear.

They remembered this Conduct, and they remembered how by poiſoning the People by theſe and an Infinity of other falſe Inſinuations, and by Miſrepreſentations of the Expence which they themſelves rendered infinitely more grievous, by the Obſtruction given to the Supplies, and the Neceſſity, which proceeded from thence, of borrowing large Sums at high Intereſt, they laid the firſt Foundation for the Debt under which the Nation yet labours—That by theſe Means they at length reduced the King to the Neceſſity of conſenting to the Partition Treaty, for which they reviled and abuſed him, and raiſed the Ferment of the People upon him, though it was the Infant of their own Faction—That by this means they preſerved *France* in the Zenith of her Power, at leiſure to prepare againſt the Death of the King of *Spain*, an Event which was expected every Day—That though the Proſpect of a new War was ſo immediate and ſo certain, they forced the Reduction of the Army to ſeven thouſand Men; ſo that when the War of 1702 broke out, before the *Grand Alliance* could take place, by the Management of theſe faithful and ſteady Friends of *France*, that Prince was enabled to make an entire Seizure of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, and to ſtrengthen himſelf to ſuch a Point, as to carry on a War againſt

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moſt of the Powers of *Europe* for twelve ſucceſſive Years, to which *England* alone contributed above Seventy Millions.

They remembered farther, (though this pernicious Conduct had eſtranged the Nation from them for a time, and had caſt the Adminiſtration of Affairs into the Hands of the Whigs; during which whole Period, this Nation was attended with the moſt amazing Series of Succeſſes ever read of in Hiſtory;) that the ſame Men continued the ſame Practices, till by low Arts, they had frightned, and by infamous Inſinuations gained both upon her and upon the People, ſtill concealing their grand View till they had got into the Adminiſtration.

They remembered farther (though it ſeems to be forgotten now) what they did when they came there.——That they betrayed the *Faith* of this *Nation* and deſerted their *Allies*.——That they did it with Circumſtances, which clearly proved their Intention to yield them up a Sacrifice to *France*.——That they made a ſeparate and an infamous Peace, by which they ſaved *France* from inevitable and immediate Ruin, and caſt away that immenſe Treaſure, which had been expended in the War, entailing a future Expence ſtill greater even than that they had thus iniquitouſly thrown away; expoſing us to greater Danger than we had even then eſcaped, laying a Foundation for her Advancement to a much higher Point of Power, and preventing at the ſame time, by their Perfidy to the Confederates, as far as in them lay, all Probability of the ſame Union to obſtruct her Views again.

They remembered how clearly and how ſteadily this Plan of ſerving *France*, had been purſued, and how it was brought to its full Effect.——And they remembered how near their Grand View, to which this was ſecondary, was brought to an Iſſue too.——In what manner before the Death of the Queen, they had deeply laid the Plot of abuſing her Authority to bring the Pretender to the Throne.—How notwithſtanding their affected Loyalty to their Royal Miſtreſs, by which they had not only duped her, but deceived the Nation; they baſely meditated her Ruin, to whoſe Weakneſs they owed their Advancement.—How by their dark Intrigues they broke her declining Conſtitution and cauſed her Death.—The only Service they ever did her; ſending that unhappy Princeſs, by this Precipitation of her Fate, to a better World, before ſhe had experienced in this, far worſe Calamities, which they were preparing for her; the Loſs of her Crown and Dignity, perhaps a violent End, at leaſt Impriſonment for Life.

They remembered the Deliverance of this Nation by the Acceſſion of his late Majeſty in the moſt critical Conjuncture.

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—They remembered the Confidence of this Conſpiracy, which had ripened ſo far in four Years Tory Adminiſtration, that they thought themſelves able to effect that by Force, when they had loſt all Power, which could not have been defeated had they continued a few Months longer in it.—They remembered the late Rebellion, which broke out immediately after, and which was ſuppreſſed, more by the Interpoſition of Divine Providence, than by human Means.

Remembring all this, the laſt Scene of which happened not eleven Years before the Commencement of the late Oppoſition, which may be properly dated from the *Hanover* Treaty in 1725.—The People could not entertain a Fear of a *Tory Faction*.—This Scene of Wickedneſs had ſo fully detected thoſe, who ſet themſelves in the Front of ſuch a Faction, that even the *Tories* themſelves bluſhed to ſee the Tools they had been made; and trembled equally with the *Whigs*, at the Hazards which their Folly had brought upon the Nation; ſuch as, to do them equal Juſtice, their *Heads* had never comprehended, nor their *Hearts* ever intended to promote.—The ſhameleſs Conduct of that Adminiſtration, with regard to *France*, and the *Pretender*, cauſed an univerſal Averſion to the Tories; and many of them, ſenſible of the Errors of their former Conduct, retained nothing of what they were but the Name.---The whole Nation appeared united in a warm Attachment to the preſent Royal Family.---The *Faction* of which we ſpeak, ſenſible of their wounded Intereſt, hardly ſhewed themſelves in any Shape, for ſome Years.---Any new Oppoſition avowedly begun by them in that Conjuncture, would have ruined them for ever. —*Their Arts and their falſe Pretences were too recent to impoſe upon Mankind.—And their Converſion, had they pretended any, would have been too ſudden and unnatural to have gained Belief.*

As Security rarely fails to be the Mother of Danger, ſo it was with us,—This ſeeming Security deceived both the *Miniſter*, and the *Publick*. I ſhall ſpeak frankly and without Partiality to either.—It tempted him to act with too much Wantonneſs, and Negligence in Power.—It tempted *others* too much to indulge their Reſentment and private Views.—The *Faction* was no longer dreaded but deſpiſed.—When that has been the Caſe, it has been always found, at length

Incedimus per Ignes
Suppoſitos cineri doloſo. Hor.

The Miniſter, void at firſt of all Apprehenſion of this latent Danger, gratified his ill Humour to, or took no Pains to manage the

the ill Humours of, thoſe he happened to diſlike, neglected Popularity too much, and ſtudied only how to avoid War, as the Means to procure the Continuance and the Eaſe of his Adminiſtration.——He knew that in War, if not ſucceſsful, the ill Succeſs is always attributed to the Miniſter. — If fortunate, that it was unavoidably attended with great Expence, at which, in the long run, the People murmur.—He likewiſe ſaw, that in War, military Men, and active Spirits muſt, by degrees, obtain ſome Share of Power, which he was determined to engroſs. —— All *Europe* quickly ſaw this Foible, and the two Powers, from whom we have to fear the moſt, the *French* and *Spaniards*, play'd him off unmercifully.—Their Methods were different, but both tending to the ſame End. ——The *French* flattered him with an inſidious Friendſhip, and the Affectation of a Pacifick Diſpoſition.—The *Spaniards* bullied him upon every Turn. — It muſt be candidly confeſſed that the Peace of *Utrecht* in 1713, and the Difficulties unadjuſted then, had greatly embarraſſed all the Affairs of *Europe*.—*France* and the Emperor had agreed by the Treaties of *Raſtadt*, and *Baden* the following Year; but great Differences between the Emperor and *Spain* ſubſiſted till long after this Miniſter was taken into that Employment. —— His Predeceſſors had been puzzled with theſe Differences. — And in endeavouring to appeaſe them, had already, by the *Quadruple Alliance*, and ſeveral ſubſequent Treaties and Proceedings, in a great Degree diſguſted both thoſe Powers. At the Time therefore, when the Reins of this Government were put into his Hands, it required greater Abilities for Foreign Affairs, and another Turn to extricate this Nation out of theſe difficult Circumſtances.—Inſtead of adhering firmly to the Emperor, this Miniſter yielded to the Views of *Spain*, who inſulted us till ſhe had carried one Point, and then inſulted us again, till ſhe had obtained another. — The Miniſter ſtill vainly flattering himſelf with gaining that Power by conſtant Obligations.—But the Queen, who governed there, knew neither any Sentiment of Gratitude, nor any Limits to her Ambition.—By this Conduct he ſtill provoked the Emperor to a higher Degree, which *Spain* obſerving, took that Opportunity to accommodate her own Affairs with the Imperial Court.

This ſudden Friendſhip between the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* alarmed the Miniſter, who knew he had not the Friendſhip of *the one* Court, whatever he had done and ſuffered for it; and that he had juſtly incurred the Reſentments of *the other*. He therefore grew jealous of this Union, and dreaded ſome Effect from it, though he knew not what.——

He apprehended that the Peace of *Europe* was upon the Point of being diſturbed again; and without conſidering the Nature of ſuch Diſturbance, that it could not prejudice this Country; that it was, on the contrary, the moſt deſirable Event that could have happened, and that *France* could alone have Reaſon to conſider this Union with a jealous Eye: — He ſuffered himſelf to be impoſed upon by imaginary Fears, inſinuated by *France*, and immediately exerted himſelf to form a Confederacy againſt the *Emperor* and *Spain*; whoſe Union was effected by themſelves, for no other Reaſon but becauſe we had refuſed to mediate for them; and that neither Decency nor Reſentment could permit *Spain* to accept the Mediation of *France*, from whom ſhe had received a recent Indignity of a very high Nature, by ſending back the *Infanta*, who had been betrothed to the King of *France*.

This Confederacy, which went by the Name of the *Hanover* Treaty, was concluded between *France*, *Pruſſia*, and *Great Britain*, the 23d of *September*, 1725, about four Months after the Treaty between the *Emperor* and *Spain*, concluded at *Vienna*. — The late King of *Pruſſia* was then living, and it is obvious by the Conduct of the *Son*, what Views the *Father* might have had to induce him, among other Diſcontents with the *Imperial Court*, to come into this Meaſure. — And it was ſtill much more obvious, why *France* ſhould have joined in a Project, which was of her own Invention, and the only Meaſure, that could have recovered her out of the moſt dangerous Situation that ſhe was ever in. — The Houſe of *Bourbon* was divided againſt itſelf, and ſhe was very ſenſible it could not have ſtood, if this Alliance between the *Emperor* and *Spain* had continued in Force. — The natural Antipathy of the Imperial Court, and the Reſentments of *Spain* to *France*, too plainly accounted for the Sums remitted from the *Spaniſh* Court to *Vienna*, and the vaſt Encreaſe of the Imperial Armies. ---- Theſe Armies could not have waded through the Ocean to have attacked *Great Britain*: The *Emperor* had not a ſingle Ship to bring them hither, and the Fleets of *Spain* had been deſtroyed in the *Mediterranean* in the Year 1718.--- Had it therefore been as ſolemnly true, as it was undoubtedly falſe, that thoſe Stipulations had been made in the *Vienna* Treaty to affect *Great Britain*, which the Miniſter had been impoſed upon himſelf, or deſired to impoſe on others to believe, *Great Britain* muſt have been out of its Senſes to have been alarmed at them.--- A Squadron of Ships of War ſent upon the Coaſts of *Spain*, and another of Obſervation on our own Coaſts, together with the Body of Forces conſtantly maintained at Home, would have

have prevented all Poſſibility of the ſmalleſt Danger of Invaſion, which can never be juſtly feared but from *France* alone, or *France* and *Spain* united, a Caſe viſibly not then exiſting, and more remote than it ever was.--The *French* therefore well knew that theſe Preparations muſt have been deſigned againſt themſelves; and if the very diſtant Sound of War had not terrified the Miniſter to the Loſs of his Wits, we might probably have ſeen an Event at that Time, which we ſhall probably never have in our Power to ſee again---The Houſe of *Bourbon* ruined by itſelf, and *France* reduced, without the Expence of a ſingle Shilling to this Country.

We have now ſeen *France* preſerved, and the Houſe of *Auſtria* confederated againſt by its natural and old Ally *Great Britain*; we have ſeen the ſame effected by the Puſillanimity of a *Whig Miniſter*, which was the conſtant View of a *Tory Adminiſtration*.---The ſame honeſt Zeal which animated the Whigs againſt the Tories, moſt juſtly and indiſpenſibly induced many of them to enter into an Oppoſition to an Adminiſtration, who with different Principles purſued the ſame End---This will warrant, before God and Man, the Oppoſition that we have lately ſeen.--- It ſhews, that it was carried on upon Whig Principles; that it was the grand Principle of humbling *France*, and of aſſiſting the Houſe of *Auſtria*, to which they adhered, and which they intended to maintain by this Oppoſition --- It was not a Quarrel about particular Laws or Alterations of the Conſtitution, as it is now falſely ſuggeſted to have been. Something of this kind is attempted in the Courſe of every Oppoſition, and ſomething of this kind is from time to time neceſſary, within the Bounds of Moderation, to be done, to confine Government to its firſt Principles, and proper to be attempted in ſome Conjunctures, even in a further Degree than it is intended to be done, to keep Miniſters of a certain Character in Awe, and to maintain the People in a Senſe of their Advantages, which ſuch Miniſters, without that lively Senſe in them, might have it otherwiſe in their Power to impair---But theſe were ſecondary Views; the grand Point intended, and what theſe were employed only as Engines to attain, was *to remove the Miniſter, and to bring back the Councils of this Country to its true Intereſt.*

The Conjuncture was now come, which had been long impatiently expected by the Faction---Confuſion was begun---and the Government attacked without the leaſt Appearance that the Faction had been the Authors of it---The Whigs, who oppoſed, did it with great Vigour, but were ſtill known to be true in their Principles, both to the King and to the Conſtitution---The Faction, who could not, as I have already obſerved, *venture to*

have avowedly begun a new Oppoſition themſelves, or practiſed their former Arts, which were too recent to impoſe upon Mankind, or pretended a Converſion, which would have been too ſudden and unnatural to have gained Belief, found the Occaſion extreamly apt to buſy themſelves again — They would have joined with the Miniſter, who was now indiſcreetly doing what they wiſhed, if they had believed he had wiſhed it too; but as they knew he did it by a kind of fatal Neceſſity, which a Series of Errors had induced, they knew that neither he, nor that Part of the *Whigs*, who continued to ſupport him, ſome through the ſame Blindneſs, ſome through Gratitude to *him*, ſome through the very Apprehenſion of *them*, and ſome for other Reaſons; yet none of them did it upon *their* Views, or would ever concur to bring it to *their* deſired Concluſion.—They therefore knew that they would ſooner or later change this Conduct, and that beſides they would never join with them.—The only Game they therefore had to play, was to act an under Part with this Whig Oppoſition—By this Conduct they had a double Policy; *firſt*, to concur in raiſing the Ferment of the Nation to the higheſt Point they could (which by long Obſervation never was yet raiſed ſince the Revolution, but that it took a Turn in favour of their great View) and *ſecondly*, to efface the Suſpicions that the Nation entertained of them.

The grand Criterion of the Conduct of the two Parties being (as I have already obſerved,) of the *Whigs*, *to oppoſe the Growth of the Power of* France, and of the *Tories*, *to advance the Intereſts of that Power*—The Faction concurring in this Oppoſition, which ſo directly formed itſelf upon the *Whig Principle*, exerting themſelves with the utmoſt Rancour and ſeeming Sincerity againſt the Miniſter, for his Conduct with regard to *France*, uniting in all the popular Bills, and Republican Propoſitions, (which were by this, and have commonly been by all Whig Oppoſitions, more eſpecially indulged,) and being ſilent upon the Topicks of *Paſſive Obedience*, *Non-reſiſtance*, and the *Danger of the Church*, from all theſe Circumſtances joined to a Partiality to believe well of thoſe who aſſiſt us, let the Motives be what they will, and a Tendency to diſbelieve the Miniſter, who very conſtantly rung the Alarm againſt their ſecret Principles, all which was improved by the moſt ſolemn Aſſurances of their good Intentions; they at length wrought upon the Publick to believe, that their Views were intirely changed—Many were by this Time dead, who remembered all thoſe Arts and Practices which I have formerly mentioned, and a new Race were by this Time ſprung up in their Room, by their Age, and the Nature of Youth, ſuſceptible of light Impreſſions, actuated by warm Paſſions, and ignorant of what had paſſed before their Times.

Times.—To this were added such a Series of Mistakes, and such unfortunate Events, as brought the Interests of all our Allies, and consequently the Interests of *Britain*, into the utmost Danger, the Minister still unavoidably blundering on, not able to make a Peace, nor to carry on a War—Harrassing the Country by great and fruitless Expences, to provide Forces against Events, which were neither sufficient to answer the End, and which he never had Resolution to employ towards the End---bubbled by *France*, insulted by *Spain*, hated by the Publick. Thus the Resentments of the Nation rose at last so high, that they became incapable to consider any Danger, or to suspect any Treachery but from him.---In this Situation of Affairs, it is easy to account why the Faction still subsisted, and why it must have been a vain, perhaps not a wise Attempt at that Time, to have endeavoured to have convinced the Publick that they did.---The Whigs, in the Opposition, thought honestly, and they thought truly, that the Nation was inevitably ruined, if this Minister continued to govern in our Councils longer. The House of *Austria*, which is as much the Barrier to the Liberties of *Britain* as the strong Towns of *Flanders* are to the *Dutch* Republick, was reduced to the lowest Ebb, and upon the very Brink of utter Destruction.---No effectual Means proposed, no Means in his Situation possible to give it any Assistance. In this Condition they were compelled to use the Aid of any Set of Men whatever, to procure the Removal of this Minister; and they thought they might depend safely upon the national Experience of the past Behaviour of the Faction, upon the Integrity and Well-meaning of the Generality of the People, upon the real Excellency and peculiar Blessings of this Constitution, never in any Event to be overborne by either a Jacobite or Tory Faction.---In fine, they trusted to their own Influence, which then governed and directed the whole Opposition without Controul, to settle and consolidate the Principles of the Nation, as soon as the Minister was removed, and his Measures rectified.

These are the true, and they are sufficient Reasons to explain why the Nation gradually lessened in its Apprehension of this Faction, why the Tories thus combined were conceived to be no longer what they had been formerly. But the Whigs, who led the Opposition, and were most considerable in it, who now compose the Administration in Part, and who now oppose no longer, were not so easily deceived. --- They could not but observe the Views of these Men in their pretended Coalition with them, --- They could not avoid seeing (though they prevented, and discouraged them as much as they could, and kept them down in a very great Degree) the malevolent E[illegible] dear Suits

deavours of theſe Men, to poiſon the Minds of the People againſt the Royal Family, and to give the general Diſcontent a Tendency to a Diſaffection againſt the *Prince* upon the Throne; which they laboured wholly to confine to the Perſon of the *Miniſter*. ---- They ſaw too evidently, to be duped by any of their Pretences, that they maintained the ſame Inveteracy to the Whigs. ----- They ſupported no Whig in any Election, where they could poſſibly avoid it, without a Detection of themſelves, or the Ruin of an Oppoſition ſo convenient to their View.—The Whigs even ſaw much more, which in that Circumſtance it was not their Intereſt to diſcover to the Publick, that they endeavoured, by refuſing to concur in ſeveral perſonal Propoſitions againſt the Miniſter, to try whether they could not induce him to ſtrike a ſeparate Bargain with themſelves—and at the Cloſe of the Oppoſition, in the firſt Seſſions of this Parliament, when they adhered more firmly to theſe perſonal Propoſitions, they knew it was becauſe the Miniſter had not catched at the Bait they had thrown out for him, and was not to be deluded by their Arts.

From all that we have here obſerved, it is very notorious, that the laſt Oppoſition was a *Whig Oppoſition*, and not a *Tory Faction*. — That the plain Origin, and avowed Views of this Oppoſition, were the Removal of the Miniſter, and the Change of his Meaſures. — That when this was done, they, from the very Beginning of that Oppoſition, intended no more, never meant, nor were ever expected to maintain it longer. — That it would have been inconſiſtent with their avowed Profeſſions, and with their real Principles, if they had.

It is farther obvious, that the Tory Faction, though they concurred with them, had done it without either *Principle* or *Affection*, and never had the Influence to give this Oppoſition any Taint or Colour, nor were they ſuffered to compaſs one publick Meaſure of their own —That the Whigs, though they could not refuſe the Concurrence of their Votes, and their Aſſiſtance to ſwell the Number of Opponents, never pretended, or had any real Friendſhip with them, nor ever had Reaſon from their Sincerity to have it, much leſs ever gave them any Encouragement to hope that they would join with them any longer, than till they had changed the *Miniſter*, and changed the *Meaſures*.

If then it ſhall appear, that the Miniſter and the Meaſures are now changed—If it ſhall appear, that theſe Men after this commenced a new Oppoſition, when the principal Whigs, who before directed the Oppoſition, had done with that Direction,--- What Man can deny, *that the Leaders of the late Oppoſition have acted*

acted conſiſtently and honeſtly both in their firſt Beginnings to oppoſe---and then in deſiſting to oppoſe at the Time they did.

And if it ſhould appear, that the *Whig* Leaders of the late Oppoſition, though they had no further Connexion with theſe Men after that Change of the Miniſter, and the Meaſures, was effected, which was the only View they intended or profeſſed, or concurred with theſe Men in, did yet endeavour, out of a Deſire to deſtroy (as much as in them lay, and till they found it an *Utopian* Undertaking) the Evil of *Parties* in general, and the Diſtinction of *Tory* in particular, by uſing their Influence to advance many of theſe, (who ſeemed the leaſt violent) into Employments, where they might be placed without the Danger of their influencing the publick Meaſures, and where they might have given Probation of their Sincerity. — If they had actually in a very few Days begun to do this, and if it will appear that for no other viſible Reaſon but this, that the *Tories* and *Jacobites* were not permitted to take the Government by Storm, and that their Ambition could not be ſatisfied, or their Views anſwered, without thoſe Employments were conferred upon them, which would inevitably give them the Power of influencing the publick Meaſures; and if the Terms were ſuch as to force their whole Faction into the Adminiſtration, without allowing the Prince to except againſt a ſingle Man, and their Impatience, ſuch as to deſert their Leaders, and to form a new Party before they had given them any reaſonable Time—What Man can have the Confidence to deny, that they acted *not only with greater Friendſhip to theſe Men than they deſerved, but with as much Honour as it was in human Power honeſtly to do?*

And thirdly, if it ſhould appear, that by this new raiſed Oppoſition, it is the manifeſt View to do that, which, as we have already obſerved, is the Criterion of the Conduct of a *Jacobite* Faction, viz. *to advance the Intereſts of* France; and if this manifeſt View is now followed by the very ſame wicked Arts and Meaſures, which that Faction in all former Periods have purſued, I may be juſtified in that Aſſertion which it is my Point principally to prove — *That the Oppoſition of this Time is not an Oppoſition, but a Faction, and that of the moſt dangerous kind to this Nation.*

Now that this is true, and rather to illuſtrate than to prove this (for Things ſelf-evident, and what ariſes from the Recollection of Facts, neither will admit, nor ſtands in need of Proof) I ſhall make it the Plan of my Diſcourſe in the following Sheets:--Firſt, *To ſhew the State of our Affairs, as they ſtood previous to the Change of the late Miniſtry, and to give a ſhort Deduction of the Conduct of the Oppoſition till the Whigs and the preſent Faction*

ſeparated from each other.--- I ſhall then obſerve the Conduct of the Faction thus ſeparated from the Whigs to the End of that Seſſions of Parliament. --- I ſhall in the third Place obſerve the Conduct of the new Adminiſtration, the Succeſs of their Meaſures, and the Difference that appeared in the Situation of our Affairs upon the ſecond Meeting of the Parliament.--I ſhall ſhew in the next place, the farther Meaſures of the Faction in their Attempts to delude the People, in their Methods of Oppoſition, and the Tendency of both.--- I ſhall then proceed to offer a few candid Reflections upon thoſe popular Topicks, which are the Engines principally uſed to play upon the Paſſions of the People, and to divert them from a cool Reflection of the true Condition of our Affairs in this Conjuncture, and conclude with ſome general Conſiderations, which will lead the Publick to a juſt Senſe of thoſe Dangers to which they are expoſed, by a further Concurrence with what is now plauſibly called by the tender Name of the preſent Oppoſition.

We have already mentioned the Conduct of the Miniſter, with regard to the *Emperor*, *Spain* and *France*, at the time of the *Hanover*-Treaty, which throwing this Nation into the Arms of *France*, and breaking off from our old and natural Connexion with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, divided the Whig Intereſt, and was the Ground of the late Oppoſition.---We are now to ſee the Meaſures afterwards purſued by the ſame Miniſter, and the Conſequence they had.—But before I quit this Subject of the *Hanover*-Treaty, which was the fatal Ground of all our preſent Confuſion, to confirm what I have already ſaid, with regard to the juſt Alarm the *Whigs* took at it, I muſt obſerve, that by a ſeparate Article of this Treaty, *Great Britain* engaged, "in caſe War ſhould be declared by the Empire againſt *France*, "that though ſhe was not comprized in the Declaration of ſuch "War, *Great Britain* ſhould act in Concert with *France* till "ſuch War ſhould be determined;" and by Virtue of the third Article of the ſame Treaty, "ſhould, if Neceſſity required, "declare War upon the Empire." *And thus*, ſays a [a] Foreigner, who is quoted often upon Occaſions of this Nature, and cannot be ſuſpected of any Party Concern in the Affairs of this Country,--*By this Treaty, the Duke of* Bourbon, *then Firſt Miniſter to the Moſt Chriſtian King, brought to Maturity what his Predeceſſor had projected, and* France *at length attained what ſhe had ſo long wiſhed, and for which ſhe had in vain expended ſuch immenſe Sums in the preceding Reign.*

The Conſequence immediate upon the Concluſion of this Treaty, was a vaſt additional Expence. — And without all Doubt, the Raſhneſs of this Meaſure had engaged us in a War, which

[a] *Rouſſet*, vol. II. fol. 188.

which would have ruined the Balance of Power in *Europe* without Resource, (the Powers of the grand Alliance being now upon the Point of pursuing the Destruction of each other, with the same determined Rancour, which they had formerly exerted against their common Enemy the *French*,) if the Emperor, notwithstanding the Pride and Insolence, of which he was accused, and the shameful Indignity with which he was treated, observing the Danger in which we had, by *our unnatural Apprehensions*, involved ourselves, had not, with an happy Moderation, himself opened a Way, (in a very uncommon Manner, through the Channel of a Nuncio of the Pope at *Venice*,) to bring this Matter to an Accommodation; so that at length, upon the Suspension of the *Ostend* Company, which was one of the pretended Subjects of the Quarrel, a new *Preliminary Treaty* was signed at *Vienna*, in *June* 1727; which quieted our Ministerial Fears of a general War in some degree for a Time: During this Interval we sustained an immense Expence in defending *Gibraltar*, raising Troops at Home, and hiring Troops abroad, the inestimable Loss of many thousands of our Seamen, and the Ruin of the never-to-be forgotten Squadron sent with *Hosier*, to rot in Sight of the Treasures of *Peru* and *Mexico*, at *Porto-Bello*.

But there yet remained great Matter of Anxiety; for *Spain*, under frivolous Pretences, which shewed her manifest Contempt for the *British* Minister, refused to ratify this *Preliminary Treaty*, and continued her Hostilities, till the *Emperor*, with great Candour, detesting this Chicane, took part with our Court against her.—And *Spain*, finding no Support, was at length obliged to accede by a new Act signed at the *Pardo*, the 4th of *March*, 1728.—By which it was agreed, that all Hostilities should cease, and all the Differences between *Great Britain* and *Spain* be submitted to the Decision of a future Congress.

The Minister, sensible of the Danger he had escaped, was glad of the Opportunity, which offered itself in that Congress (which was held at *Soissons*) to reunite with the Imperial Court.—Notwithstanding all the Indignities that had passed, and all the Provocations he had received, the Emperor retained so just a Sense both of his Obligations, and his Interest to cultivate the antient Friendship of the House of *Austria* with *Great-Britain*, that he was willing to overlook all that was passed; and as his Union with *Spain* before, had given so much Umbrage here, he thought by raising Difficulties, and by delaying the Execution of some Articles of the former Treaty with *Spain*, he should give us Proofs of his Sincerity.—But alas! he had not yet experienced what he had to suffer from the pacific Councils, or (as they are termed

termed by the great Conductor of them himself,) the *preventive and defensive* Measures of the *British* Minister.— *Spain* was incensed at this Conduct, and at the Emperor's candid Behaviour with regard to the *Preliminary Articles*; we now began to be as much frightened at the *Variance*, as we had been terrified before with the *Union* of these two Powers; we had practised our *defensive* as we have seen; we must now try our Skill in *preventive* Measures, and with the like Success.

The Emperor's Conduct deserved the Gratitude of the whole Nation; and merited the best Returns that could have been made him.—On the other hand, during this whole time, even after the signing the Act at the *Pardo*, *Spain* had treated us with the utmost Insolence, taken and plundered all the Vessels of this Nation, that fell into her Hands, with as little Reserve as if we had been at open War. These Circumstances together should, in all human Wisdom, have induced the Minister, to have laid aside his old Way of alliancing with *France*, to have improved the Misunderstanding between the *Emperor* and *Spain*, and to have endeavoured, with the utmost Vigour, to crush that Insolence of *Spain* by force, which he saw visibly, was not to be reclaimed by generous Usage, by the Moderation of suffering her to declare War without any reciprocal Declaration on our Part, by our signal Abstinence from a Seizure of above four Millions Sterling in *America*, nor by the Patience we had exercised under so many Indignities, Insults and continued Depredations. But instead of doing this, in Conjunction with his good Ally the *French*, he concluded a new Treaty with *Spain*, which was signed at *Seville*, the 9th of *November*, 1729.

The Emperor, who had shewn himself so truly desirous of preserving the Peace of *Europe*,—who had acted with so much Moderation and Candour, to preserve the Friendship of this Nation, was not acquainted in the least with this Treaty, till it was concluded; ---- it was kept secret from him; and no Wonder,---for it contained an Article, which has since proved, as we have seen, and as he always foresaw it would, of the most fatal Consequence to his *Italian* Dominions:---This Article was the immediate Admission of 6,000 *Spanish* Troops into the Places of *Tuscany*, *Parma* and *Placentia*, to secure the Reversion of those States, after the Deaths of their respective Princes, to Don *Carlos*, which in the *Quadruple Alliance* the Emperor had consented to be done only by *Neutral* Forces, and even that very much against his Inclination.

It may be easily conceived what Effect such a Treatment as this must have had upon the Emperor: It justly gave him the greatest Alarm, as well as raised his Resentment to the highest degree.

gree.—Even in his Conjunction with *Spain* in 1725, intimate, as it had been represented to be, he was never brought by *Spain* to consent to this Alteration,—and what made the Matter ſtill worſe, theſe Territories being Fiefs of the Empire, this arbitrary Settlement with relation to them juſtly incenſed the Empire too.

Theſe *preventive Meaſures* put us into worſe Plight than ever.—*France* had brought us about again, and we were now upon the Point of joining, not only *France*, but of uniting with the whole Houſe of *Bourbon*, not only againſt the *Emperor*, but the whole *Germanick Body*.—*Spain* and *France* urged us openly and vehemently to compleat theſe new Engagements.—The *Emperor* in the mean time marched a powerful Army, and filled all *Italy* with his Troops, determined to reſiſt the Execution of this Treaty, which he thus prevented for the whole Year 1730.—The *Miniſter* was now in Deſpair, his Fleets at *Spithead* had not terrified the Emperor's Armies in *Lombardy*.—But the Reſentments of *France* and *Spain* at his Inactivity, and contradictory Proceedings, terrified the Miniſter.—[a]The Marquiſs *de Caſtellar*, the *Spaniſh* Miniſter at *Paris*, publiſhed a Declaration there, by Order of his Maſter, upon the 28th of *January* 1731, with bitter Reproaches againſt this Conduct, *renouncing all his Engagements with us, profeſſing that he now looked upon himſelf as intirely at Liberty to act what Part ſoever he ſhould find moſt ſuited to his Intereſts*. Thus he had viſibly diſobliged all Parties, he thought a War inevitable, and himſelf undone.—His new Treaty of *Seville*, upon which he had plumed himſelf ſo proudly, now vaniſhed into Smoak.—But the Emperor's good Senſe and Moderation ſaved our Miniſter once more.—He conſented to this ruinous Meaſure, tho' with Tears in his Eyes.—He conſented to admit a Prince of the Houſe of *Bourbon* into *Italy*, whom we were viſibly carrying thither to eſtabliſh in a great Monarchy at the Expence of his Dominions.—Willing not even yet to deſpair that this Nation would ſee its Errors at laſt, he determined to try us once more, and ſubmitted to make this Sacrifice, on condition that we ſhould accede to the *Pragmatic Sanction*, and guaranty the reſt of his Dominions to his eldeſt Daughter.

This Treaty concerning the Admiſſion of the *Spaniſh* Troops into the *Italian* States, and the *Guaranty* of the *Pragmatic Sanction* was concluded at *Vienna* the 16th of *March* 1731.—between the Emperor and *Great Britain* alone. Its View was to enforce the Treaty of *Seville*.—Yet it was concluded without the Participation either of *France* or *Holland*, who had

[a] *Rouſſet*, Vol. VI. fol. 11.

been the contracting Parties to that of *Seville*.—The *Dutch* were however at length prevailed upon to accede to it.

We now began to think again that we had done great Matters, for the preſent we had pacified the *Emperor*, and prevented a War. —We obtained a Declaration from the Court of *Spain*, dated at *Seville* the 6th of *June* following to revoke that of the Marquis *de Caſtellar*, of the 28th of *January* before mentioned: And as a Proof of our Reconciliation with the ſecond Power, we were permitted to have the Honour, upon the 17th of *October* 1731, to eſcort the *Spaniſh* Troops into *Italy*, with a Squadron of ſixteen *Britiſh* Men of War, at the Expence of 200,000 *l.*

But we are come at length to the final Period of the Succeſs of theſe *preventive and defenſive* Meaſures—they could no longer hold—the whole World clearly ſaw, to what the Politicks of the *Britiſh* Miniſter amounted—and that he was determined to be moved neither by Indignity or *Danger*.

France had carried her Point, ſhe had heartily regained the *Spaniards* to her Intereſts, ſhe had deſtroyed all Cordiality between the *Emperor* and *England*, ſhe had detected the Weakneſs of this Nation ſo far, that ſhe ſaw *ſhe* had nothing *to fear*, and that *all other Powers* had nothing *to hope* from *Britain*.— She had been a contracting Party to the Treaty of *Seville*, and we had bound ourſelves to enter into no new Engagements without her Concurrence. Yet the late Treaty with the Emperor, which was to enforce it, had been concluded without her Participation, nay without her Knowledge.—She highly and loudly reſented this Treatment, as a manifeſt Neglect, an Inſtance of Contempt, and a publick Affront; and ſhe had the better Handle to exclaim againſt us for it, becauſe we had affected to think ourſelves ſo ill uſed, by the like Conduct of the Emperor, with regard to the Treaty of *Vienna* in 1725.—From this Moment ſhe thought of nothing but Revenge, and to avail herſelf of the Means we had ſo manifeſtly given her, to take it with Impunity.

The *Spaniſh* Troops had not been long landed in *Italy*, before an Alliance was formed between *France*, *Sardinia* and *Spain*, to attack the Emperor's Dominions in *Italy*.—The King of *Poland*'s Death was foreſeen, and ſhe took ſuch Meaſures as ſhe thought had effectually ſecured the Election of King *Staniſlaus* to that Throne.—With the Aſſiſtance of that Prince ſhe projected to have fallen upon the Emperor's Hereditary Countries, while ſhe diverted his Forces upon the *Rhine*, and her Confederates employed him in the Defence of *Italy*.—Not many Months were paſs'd, before the Miniſter had a more fatal Cauſe of Inquietude than ever---War became inevitable---his Conduct had delayed it, only to make it fall with more ruinous and irreſiſtible Effect.

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The King of *Poland* died the 21ſt of *January* O.S. 1732-3, and in *March* following the King of *France* declared that he would ſupport the Election of his Father-in-law.---The Emperor was ſenſible of what was preparing for him.---He knew that if this Election took Effect, it would be impoſſible to reſiſt the Confederacy formed againſt him.---He therefore took part with the Elector of *Saxony*, now the preſent, and Son to the late King of *Poland*.---Yet endeavouring as much as poſſible not to give any Pretence to *France*, for attacking him upon this Score, he left it to the *Ruſſian* Arms to ſupport that Prince.---But *France* never wanted a Pretext, when ſhe found herſelf in a Condition to proſecute her Views by Arms.---Confiding in her Engagements with *Sardinia* and *Spain*, ſhe grounded this Pretext upon the ſecret Negociations the Imperial Court had carried on with *Ruſſia* againſt King *Staniſlaus*, declared War, and marched her Armies againſt the Emperor----while on the other ſide the 6000 *Spaniards* conveyed by the *Britiſh* Fleet into *Italy* not a Year before, ſhewed the Uſe for which they were deſigned.---They joined the *Sardinian* Troops, attacked the *Milaneſe*, and in Conjunction with a Body of Auxiliaries from *France*, ſoon made an entire Conqueſt of that Dutchy.

The Emperor confiding in the Engagements we had entered into, ſo immediately before, to ſupport the *Pragmatic Sanction*, had withdrawn his Troops from *Italy*.---The *French* had attacked him in the Empire, and were endeavouring to bring the *Turk* upon him.---It was impoſſible for him long to make Head alone againſt the different Attacks made and meditated upon the Empire itſelf, and his Hereditary Countries, and to defend his *Italian* Poſſeſſions at the ſame time.---He found himſelf however able with great Difficulty for that Campaign to maintain his Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, and to keep his Footing in the *Mantuan*.---In that perilous Interval he called upon *Great Britain* to execute her late Treaty, he ſhewed that it was yet in her Power to ſave *Naples* and *Sicily*, at a ſmall Expence, and by her Fleets alone; he reproached us with the Ruin we had brought upon him by engaging his Conſent to the Introduction of the *Spaniſh* Troops, and urged the Points both of Honour and National Intereſt, by which we were obliged ſo particularly to interfere in this Quarrel, as our Support and Guaranty had been the only Condition upon which he had given that Conſent.--He implored us, in the moſt moving Terms, not to deſert an old, a faithful, and a ſincere Ally, ſo ſtrictly united by all the Bonds of mutual Affection and mutual Security, in a time of this imminent Diſtreſs, a Diſtreſs, which our own Councils, and his Acquieſcence to them, had reduced him to.

But the Minister, totally confounded, knew not how to act at all.—He stood insensible to the Danger both of his Allies, and of his own Country, unmoved equally with the Complaints, Reproaches and Intreaties of the Imperial Court. He sought only to cover his own Shame, by retorting the Blame upon the Emperor.---He reproached him with having brought these Difficulties upon himself by Negociations with *Russia*, to prevent the Election of King *Stanislaus* to the Throne of *Poland*, and abused him for not submitting to that, which must have reduced him to a Condition incapable of Defence or Relief.---Thus adding the most galling Insults to the most irreparable Injuries, he endeavoured to quiet the Alarms of the People of *Great Britain* by his Emissaries, who were instructed to preach up a Dependance upon the *good Faith* of *France*, who in her Declaration of War (which she so religiously adhered to, as we have seen) had solemnly engaged to make no Acquisition by it; thus abetting the Cause, and proclaiming both the Justice and Moderation of that perfidious Power.---In the mean while no Alliances were formed to support the Emperor.---The *Dutch*, who had unwillingly been dragged by us into some of our former Treaties, would now treat with us no more; they had been taught by fatal Experience to dread any farther Connexion with us. We neither assisted the House of *Austria* with Troops nor Money.---Our Squadrons, so ready to be employed to aggrandize the Glory of a *Spanish* Triumph, were not to be hazarded in the Defence of our Allies.---We first permitted the *French* Fleets to sail into the *Baltic* unmolested, with Troops and Supplies to sustain the Cause of *Stanislaus* in the North;---In the next Year we suffered *Spain* to transport a Body of 20,000 Horse and Foot, (without any Attempt to interrupt them) to join their Troops in *Italy*, who before the End of that Year 1734, ravished the Kingdoms of *Sicily* and *Naples* from the Emperor, and added two powerful Kingdoms to the Possessions of the House of *Bourbon*.

Stunn'd with these rapid Successes, and almost inanimate with the Fear of Dangers, in which that very Fear had thus involved the World; the Minister seemed to have forgotten every thing,---during all this Time he did nothing.---But as violent Passions, from the very Cause of their Existence, which is the Weakness of human Nature, cannot be of long Duration, he began to revive a little, and could not refrain, as soon as he did, to attempt again to exercise his Talent of Negociation; to which the Self-opinion of his Brother, and his own Apprehension of Arms, had given him an obstinate, fatal, and incorrigible Turn.---He began to make Proposals,

poſals, and to offer his Mediation to the Courts both of *Paris* and *Vienna* :---But the Court of *Vienna* ſeverely wounded by theſe repeated Cruelties, Indignities and Ill Uſage, in the midſt of her deepeſt Calamity, diſdained and deteſted to treat with him any more ,---and *France*, though ſhe had reaped ſo much Advantage from his Conduct, equally contemned the Man, to whom ſhe owed it all. For even they, who profit by Infidelity or Weakneſs, abhor the Authors of it.--- Nothing proves the wretched Condition to which we had reduced ourſelves, and the Opinion ſhe entertained both of our Councils and our Arms, better than the Anſwer made to *theſe Propoſals* by the King of *France* ; which was concluded in theſe Words,---*I will do my utmoſt Endeavour in* Germany *to weaken my Enemies* ; *I have already declared that I would not keep Poſſeſſion of any of the Places I ſhould take.*--- *Let* England *reſt ſatisfied with this Promiſe.*---*She would have pleaſed me in her Mediation, if ſhe had not at the ſame Time armed herſelf.*---*But I would have her to know, that no Power in* Europe *ſhall give Law to me. And this you may tell your Maſter.*

Thus deſpiſed and treated as we juſtly deſerved by all the Powers of *Europe*, *France* herſelf extended more Compaſſion to her greateſt Enemy than we had ſhewn to our beſt Ally.---She now thought herſelf ſecure of laying the Foundation of ſuch Debility in the Houſe of *Auſtria*, as would at leaſt enable her to reduce it lower when ſhe pleaſed, if ſhe ſhould find occaſion for it.--- She thought it more prudent to lie by after ſhe had done this, till ſhe might by the Emperor's Death, have Opportunity to break the *Auſtrian* Succeſſion, and avail herſelf of the Aſſiſtance of the *German* Princes to undertake that then, which ſhe had no Pretence to attempt during his Life ; and which muſt have inevitably drawn thoſe very *German* Powers againſt her, till that Event happened ; much more ſhe could not have done, without their Aſſiſtance: She had ſown, in all Appearance, a laſting Diſcontent between the Empire and the Maritime Powers; ſhe had it in her Power to join *Lorrain* to her own (already vaſt) Dominions, and to add two Kingdoms to another Branch of the Houſe of *Bourbon :* Both theſe Acquiſitions required ſome Time to be ſettled in a Way to be uſefully employed hereafter.---By declining any farther Advantage for the preſent, ſhe carried a Shew of Moderation and voluntary Abſtinence, which ſhe knew would effectually deceive the Fools, who abound and ſtrengthen her Party, by their Credulity, in every State of *Europe*.---All this induced her to conclude Peace with the Imperial Court (in which we were in no Degree conſulted.) And ſhe made her Confederates ſubmit to it about *October*, 1736.

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By this Peace, notwithſtanding all her former Aſſurances to the contrary, ſhe made no Scruple to ſecure *Lorrain* to herſelf: Which Country, with its Revenues, is able to furniſh and maintain an Arm of 30,000 Men, and brought her Territores above 150 Miles more forward into *Germany*, than they had before extended on that Side; this enabled her at a much ſhorter Warning, and with a much ſuperior Force, to attack the Empire, when ſhe ſhould afterwards ſee occaſion to do it: Compleating at the ſame Time, an entire Influence over four Electors of the Empire, *Palatine*, *Mentz*, *Triers* and *Cologne*.—The Effects of which, we have viſibly ſeen by the Election of the preſent Emperor.—The Dominion given to the Infant Don *Carlos*, reduced the Forces of the Houſe of *Auſtria* by above 40,000 Men, and added an equal Number to the oppoſite Scale:—All this the Miniſter of *Britain* brought about by his *loudly ſelf-applauded Preventive and Defenſive Meaſures*; and this, hampered by the Conſequences of his pacifick Conduct, became, at length, out of his Power to prevent.

During the whole Period of this War, *France* was ſo little apprehenſive of our being able to exert ourſelves in Defence either of our Honour or our Intereſt, that contrary to what, in ſuch a Conjuncture, would have appeared a politick Part in her to act, ſhe took every poſſible Means to inſult, to diſgrace, and to triumph over our Weakneſs.—*Dunkirk* had been gradually and privately reſtored, in Contravention to the moſt clear and poſitive Article of the Peace of *Utrecht*, that it ſhould never be made a Port again, and the Miniſter had connived at this Violation of that Treaty; though its dangerous Situation, in caſe of a future War with *France*, is ſufficiently known and underſtood.—But now *France* openly employed great Numbers of Men to cleanſe the Harbour, and to raiſe Batteries upon the old Foundations of the former Works; inſulted the Ships, not only of our Merchants, but of the Royal Navy of *England*, in very many Inſtances, affecting the ſame Superiority at *Sea*, as ſhe had too viſibly acquired, by our Conduct at *Land*; encouraged the *Spaniards* to continue their Depredations; debauched and invited publickly, both *them*, and the *Indian* Nations in *North America*, to attempt our Settlements there; and what is even yet beyond all this, iſſued an Arrêt, commanding all the *Britiſh* Subjects then in *France*, upon Pain of the Gallies, either immediately to *depart the Kingdom*, or to *inliſt in her Troops*; and, in Conſequence, impriſoned great Numbers, both of the *Engliſh*, *Scotch* and *Iriſh*, there.

Spain on her Part, had no ſooner diſmiſſed our Fleet, which had convoyed her Troops to *Italy* upon the Expedition before men-

mentioned; but she began to treat us even worse than she had ever done before: her Depredations were excessive, and her Captures amounted to prodigious Sums; she publickly laid Claim to some of our Provinces in *America*, and interrupted not only our general Commerce, but that of the *South-Sea* Company; which were both particularly confirmed by Treaty.—Our Navigation to the *West-Indies* was render'd almost impracticable; and by the Barbarities of the *Spaniards*, and the Insults of *France*, the Spirit of our Seamen, nay their very Race, was visibly running to Decay: Yet the Minister, *fearful of a War*, submitted to all this.

At length, the Nation was exasperated to such a Point, and the Complaints and Clamours of the Merchants ecchoed so loudly through the whole Kingdom, that both Houses of Parliament in the latter End of the Year 1737 and the Beginning of 1738, could no longer refrain from expressing a great Anxiety at this tame Conduct, with Respect to *Spain*; declaring their Opinion, that the Insolence of *Spain* ought no longer to be endured, and that if immediate Satisfaction was not given, and Security obtained to remedy what was *past*, and to prevent what we saw was to be expected for *the Time to come*, this Nation must seek Redress by Arms.

The Minister, still unable to resolve himself for War, still infatuated with the Notion of his Brother's Abilities for Negotiation, depended upon his former Arts of Treaty-making.---*Spain* knew him now so well, that she wantonly play'd with him; she kept him off till the very Time, that the Parliament was to meet, without doing any thing at all; by which she reduced him to a terrible Distress.---He did not dare to meet the Parliament, after their Resolutions and Addresses, and the Temper he had left them in the last Sessions, without having done any Thing.---Yet the Time was come, and nothing at all was done.---His only Expedient was to prorogue the Parliament; and to make use of this short Space to humble himself before *Spain*; to shew them the Condition he was in, and beg their Assistance, at any Rate, and upon any Terms, to give him a Lift for the present---Whatever Form of Words he used, or in what manner soever this Negotiation was carried on, this was visibly the Nature of it; for he could not conceal his Condition; and what immediately followed, evidently proves, that it was fully understood by the Power with which he treated.

Spain having sufficiently gratified her Mirth, sported with, and mortified the Man, began to think that she might carry the Jest too far; that a War, for which she was not yet effectually prepared, might be the sudden Consequence; and that it was

not

not her Intereſt to ruin a Miniſter, whoſe Puſillanimity had ſerved her as effectually for many Years, as if her *own* had preſided over the *Britiſh* Councils: She therefore conſented to a Treaty, under the Name of a *Convention*, which was ſigned at the *Pardo*, not ſooner than the 14th of *January* N.S. 1738-9. but then diſpatched with the utmoſt Expedition.

Scarce had the Courier cleaned his Boots, but the Parliament was called---they met the firſt of *February* 1738-9. and the Miniſter enlarged upon the great Advantages of this new Treaty, by which he bragged, [a] *That he had obtained more than ever on like Occaſions was known to be obtained, more than the moſt ſucceſsful Arms could have procured; and that this Negotiation had been the beſt conducted, and the moſt happily finiſhed, of any we meet with in Hiſtory.---That he remembered he had the laſt Seſſions undertaken to be anſwerable for the Meaſures of the Government, while he had the Honour to be a Miniſter, and that he was prepared to make good his Promiſe.*---He added, that if Gentlemen would perſiſt to raiſe a Ferment without Doors againſt this *Convention*, they would thereby render *a War unavoidable.*

But the Publick were not ſo much terrified with this Argument of *an unavoidable War.* They on the contrary knew, that it was juſt and abſolutely neceſſary, and had been already delayed too long;---and when this *Convention* was laid before the Houſe, which was done upon the 6th of *March* following, it did not leſſen that Opinion.

And to ſhew how little Reaſon there was for that Opinion to be altered by it, I ſhall ſtate in a few Words, what Points the Nation juſtly expected to be finally adjuſted by this Treaty.

The firſt Point, *was the diſclaiming all Right to ſearch our Ships in the* American *Seas, under Pretences of their carrying on a contraband and illicit Trade.*---Now as there neither ever *was*, nor *is* any Treaty ſubſiſting between the two Nations, which either ſpecifies, intimates, or ſuppoſes any ſuch things as *contraband Goods*, and as if the Pretence ſhould be allowed of an *illicit Trade*, no Ships (from the Circumſtances of that Navigation) could paſs or repaſs to our own Settlements in the *Weſt-Indies*, without being expoſed to be rummaged and confiſcated by the *Spaniſh Guarda Coſta's*, it was abſolutely *a Condition, (ſine qua non) without which, we could never end our Differences with that Nation.*

2*dly*, *Spain* had, with intolerable Arrogance, and upon frivolous Pretences, claimed a Right to our Provinces upon the Coaſts of *Florida*, which included *Georgia*, and a Part of *South-*

[a] See this Speech in the Debates of the Houſe of Commons, Vol. X. fol. 335, by *Chandler.*

Carolina,

Carolina.—The Honour therefore and Intereſt of this Nation, abſolutely *required an actual Diſavowal of this pretended Right.*

3*dly*, The Depredations committed upon our Merchants, under the frivolous and unjuſt Pretences of this contraband and illicit Trade, amounted to 340,000 *l.*—That juſt Claim and Debt was therefore to be allowed or paid, and this was *another juſt Condition expected by the Nation.*

4*thly*, The King of *Spain*, during the former Differences, having ſeized the Effects of the *Britiſh* South-Sea Company, to the Amount of above a Million, and 68,000 *l.* and during the former Negotiations, this Sum having been allowed on his Part a juſt Debt, and the South-Sea Company having on the other hand acknowledged a Debt on their Part of 68,000 *l.*—there was a Ballance due to the South-Sea Company of above a Million Sterling, the Payment of which was *a fourth Condition expected by this Nation.*

Now if the Nation had not received Satisfaction in theſe four Particulars, (eſpecially the two firſt) Juſtice was not had, nor any Security obtained.

Let us therefore ſee in what manner this Satisfaction and Security were provided for by this Treaty.

As to the *firſt Condition*, (our Right to free Navigation, and no Search, the grand Point of all our Difference,) nothing farther was provided than had been provided for twenty Years before—It was again referred to be diſcuſſed in future by Commiſſaries, of which we had ſufficiently ſeen the Effects before, and already experienced all that we had to expect from it, which was indubitably nothing.

As to the *ſecond Particular*, to the great Aſtoniſhment of the whole Nation, they found, that their Right to Provinces, from which we derived a prodigious Benefit, *Carolina*, (which by the Encreaſe of the Commodity of Rice, is become of late Years one of the moſt profitable Colonies belonging to the *Britiſh* Empire;) and *Georgia*, (to ſettle which the Nation had put itſelf to a great Expence, and which by its Situation in the Gulph of *Florida*, and by a proper Uſe of its Ports, might command the Return of the whole *Spaniſh* Treaſure, and was of infinite Conſequence to prevent the Conjunction of the *French* upon the *Miſſiſſipi*, and their *Sugar Iſlands*) were not only ſubmitted to the like Diſcuſſion of Commiſſaries; but what was more amazing and unworthy, that we had bound ourſelves, till the Deciſion of theſe Commiſſaries, not to erect any Forts, or to do any thing to ſtrengthen or ſecure our Poſſeſſions there, which was, in other Words to leave them in the ſame weak and defenceleſs State they were then notoriouſly in, to be over-

run upon the firſt Attempt the *Spaniards* ſhould think fit to make upon them.

As to the third and fourth Particulars, it appeared, that the boaſted Satisfaction we had obtained for our injured Merchants, whoſe juſt Demand, (including that of the South-Sea Company,) amounted to 1,340,000 *l.* was provided for as follows.

Imprimis, The Million due to the South-Sea Company *from the King of Spain* was left to the Deciſion of Commiſſaries, whether it was due or not, which all Mankind underſtood to be the ſame thing in effect, as to have *intirely given it up.*

2*dly*, The 68,000 *l.* due *from the South-Sea Company*, was agreed to be due, and *to be paid immediately.*

3*dly*, As to the 340,000 *l.* due to our Merchants, on account of the Depredations committed upon them,—this Account was ſettled in the following Manner.

	l.
1*ſt*, From the ſaid Claim of the Merchants was arbitrarily deducted by the Daſh of a Pen, *without any Reaſon at all aſſigned* - -	140,000
2*dly*, The King of *Spain* was allowed to deduct for the Prompt Payment *of what was never intended to be paid* - - -	45,000
3*dly*, The *Britiſh* Nation were to allow *Spain* for the Ships taken and deſtroyed in the Year 1718, *in time of actual War* - - -	60,000
4*thly*, The South-Sea Company were to make immediate Payment of the 68,000 *l.* due from them to the King of *Spain* - - -	68,000
5*thly*, *Spain* was allowed to deduct the Value of a Ship called the *Thereſa*, taken in the Port of *Dublin* in 1735, as alſo the Amount of whatever ſhe had formerly given in Satisfaction to our Merchants for their Loſſes; which two Sums amounted to more, but we ſhall only ſtate at	27,000
	340,000

Thus it is manifeſt that the Plan of this Treaty was laid upon this Ground, that the King of *Spain* was not to pay one ſingle Shilling; ſo that, in fact, all the Pretenſions, both of our Merchants and the *South-Sea* Company, were entirely abandon'd by it.—But what was ſtill worſe, the Court of *Spain* refuſed to agree, even to this Treaty, till the Miniſter had conſented to an *Act*, whereby the King of *Spain* declared, That he entered his *Proteſt* againſt the Execution of it *proviſionally*, in

in case the *South-Sea* Company did not pay, in a short time therein limited, the said Sum of 68,000 *l.* and reserved farther to himself, a Right of suspending their *Assiento* Contract, in case of Failure on their Part.—Now as it was impossible, that the *South-Sea* Company would ever be induced to pay 68,000 *l.* upon one Head of an Account, in which they had, (after the Deduction of that Sum,) a Balance of *a Million* due to them; and as they did immediately after resolve not to pay this Sum, the Case of the Nation was directly this; that *Spain* was prevailed upon to do this temporary Job for the Minister.

1*st*, By a publick Connivance (if it may be so called) at their Pretensions to search our Ships, and to interrupt our Navigation.

2*dly*, By a publick Agreement, that our *Trade* should set down unsatisfy'd with the Loss of 1,340,000 *l.*

3*dly*, By a tacit Acknowledgment of the Pretensions of *Spain* to a Part of our *American* Dominions.

4*thly*, By a positive Agreement to leave those Dominions in a defenceless State, that *Spain* might seize them when she pleased.

And 5*thly*, By the Suspension of the *Assiento* Contract.

To this Condition had our *preventive and defensive* Measures now reduced us.

With this *Convention* the last Thread of pacifick Policy was spun; the Nation could endure it no longer; the Minister was at length compelled to draw the Sword.—His Majesty's tender Regard, both to his *own* Honour, and to the Interests and Honour of *the Nation*, induced him to declare War against *Spain*, in the Summer 1739.

How that War was carried on upon the same timid Principles, is but too evident. The Court of *Spain* had Time to strengthen herself to such a Degree, that she became at length invulnerable in the *West-Indies*; and *the War continues still without a Possibility of any material Success in our farther Attempts upon that Part of her Dominions.*

And now the Distresses brought upon us by this unparallelled Chain of pusillanimous Proceedings, burst like a Torrent on the Minister, who had been the Occasion of them.—Upon the 9th of *October*, O.S. 1740. the Emperor died of a Cholic, attended with a Vomiting and Inflammation of the Bowels, in a Conjuncture so apt for the Views of *France*, that there was little Room to doubt, either of the Cause or Consequences of his Death:—His Territories had been guaranty'd, long before, under the Title of the *Pragmatick Sanction*, to his eldest Daughter, (the present Queen of *Hungary*,) by a Majority of the *German* Princes, by *Great Britain*, *Denmark*, *Holland*, *Spain* and *France*; and of the two latter held (the one) *Naples* and *Sicily*,

(the other) *Lorrain*, by no other Tenure than that of the Obſervance of this Treaty. But though *France* made no Scruple to declare, that ſhe would ſtrictly fulfil her Engagements with Regard to the *Pragmatic Sanction*; and that ſhe would keep clear of every Thing, that ſhould reſtrain the free Choice of a new *Emperor*, and though the King of *Pruſſia* gave the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances, that he would ſupport it to the utmoſt of his Power; yet it was eaſy to ſee, that theſe Engagements would meet with no Regard, and that theſe Declarations were deſigned only to amuſe and deceive.

The Elector of *Bavaria* begun by refuſing to acknowledge the Rights of the Queen of *Hungary*, and aſſerting a Claim to her Dominions.—In *December* following, to the Amazement of all *Europe*, the King of *Pruſſia* fell into the Queens's hereditary Countries, and entered *Sileſia* with an Army of 40,000 Men.—In the ſucceeding Spring, the *French* marched a great Army into *Germany*, and joined the *Bavarians*; they alſo ſent another great Body of Forces into *Weſtphalia* upon the Confines of the Electorate of *Hanover*—The Elector of *Saxony* likewiſe marched an Army into *Bohemia*.—*Sweden*, by the Intrigues of *France*, declared War againſt the *Ruſſians*: By which, and by the treaſonable Practices, which ſhe fomented there, that Empire became incapable to aſſiſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*. The King of *Naples*, with a great Body of his own Forces, in Conjunction with a formidable Army of *Spaniards*, both Horſe and Foot, which again were permitted by the Miniſter to embark, and land unmoleſted by our Squadrons, was prepared to attack her *Italian* Dominions:—And by the Influence of *France*, the Elector of *Bavaria* was choſen Emperor.—*Upper Auſtria* was already, before the End of that Year, overrun; *Bohemia* and the greater Part of *Sileſia* loſt; another *Spaniſh* Army marching towards *Savoy*; the King of *Sardinia* (from his dangerous Situation, and other Circumſtances) much ſuſpected; the Electorate of *Hanover* unavoidably compelled by ſuperior Force to a Neutrality; the *Dutch* intimidated by the ſame Force; *Denmark*, encouraged by *France*, and wholly occupied to make its Advantage of the Troubles in the North; and *Great Britain* exaſperated to the utmoſt Verge of Patience, upon the very Brink of domeſtick Confuſion, ſtill directed by the *ſame Miniſter*, who from this Situation of Affairs, and from the Temper of the People, naturally reſulting from it, was wholly incapacited from affording any material Aſſiſtance to the Queen of *Hungary*, and ſtill perſevered to demonſtrate, even in this laſt Criſis, by his Conduct of the *Spaniſh* War, and by his Permiſſion of the *Spaniſh* Embarkations, that his Inclinations were as foreign as his

his Abilities to a vigorous Exertion of the Power of this Nation, at a Time, when Councils, *even desperately violent*, seemed the only Possibility, under Heaven, to preserve *us* and *Europe* from Destruction.---Even yet, incorrigibly bent upon inconsistent Schemes of Negociation, he turned his Thoughts to a Project of more Temerity and Indiscretion than ever he had hitherto projected, and attempted to form an Alliance to dismember *Prussia*; which render'd it a Thing almost impossible to bring him afterwards into a moderate Temper, or to effect a sincere Reconciliation with him.---Thus overwhelmed on every Side; Great Armies of *French*, *Bavarians*, *Prussians* and *Saxons* within a few Days March of *Vienna*; and no Part of her Territories unmolested, but the remote Dominions of *Hungary*; and those States, that bordered on the *Turk*, in daily Expectation of being attacked likewise from that Quarter, the unhappy Queen of *Hungary* was thrown, for her only Resource, upon a People, who, till this Time, had never afforded any Assistance to their Sovereign; but had, on the contrary, taken all Occasions to rebel and join a foreign Power. Her veteran Troops all destroy'd in the late War against the *Turk*; the Fountains of Supply from her richest Countries, then in the Possession of her Enemies, wholly turned against her.---This was the Condition to which the only Power, that could maintain the Balance, and without which no rational Man can think, that this Nation can long subsist without becoming a Province to *France*, was brought by this determined Suite of the *preventive and defensive* Measures of the *British* Minister.

Such was the State of our Affairs, when the present Parliament begun its first Sessions upon the first of *December*, 1741. I might expatiate here, to aggravate the wretched Condition to which this Country was reduced; but I am far from meaning to represent this Conduct, in the worst Light that it might bear: My View is very different.---Exasperated as the People are already, he that attempts to encrease the Flame, deserves to perish in it.---Would to God it were forgiven, upon Condition that it could be forgot; but it cannot be forgot, nor will, for this Reason, ever be forgiven: My Meaning therefore neither is to attempt the one nor the other.—But my Endeavour is to divert the Publick from that mad Resentment, which must complete their Ruin.—I shall shortly come to shew, how far already this Resentment has misled them.—How, deviating from the only Principle, that can warrant Punishment, they wound their *Country* and *themselves* in the Extravagance of *Passion*.---The Pursuit of Punishment, when no good End can possibly be answered by it, is Revenge; *Revenge* with *Nations*,

as well as with *private Men*, is in itſelf *deteſtable*; and, in its Conſequences, *fatal*. Let *Sweden* be the Mirror to reflect the Face of this Nation: We have lately ſeen that brave, that free People, *puſhing violently towards their own Deſtruction with a ſtrange Similitude of Fate.—Firſt, by ruinous Meaſures brought into deplorable Circumſtances; then purſuing ſanguinary Vengeance on their Miniſters; Miniſters, from the Paſſion of the Time, neither ſafe to be given up, nor to be ſaved; tearing every Fence of Government and Conſtitution down, to reach the Object of their Hatred; artfully led on, under this Pretence, to abuſe their Liberty with a dangerous Licenſe; taught to think themſelves entitled, becauſe they met with Obſtruction in this View, to invade the Privileges of all the other Parts of their Legiſlature; yet all this Time ſtupidly forfetful of the very Cauſe, for which alone they ought in Juſtice to have condemn'd the Conduct of thoſe Miniſters, or to have been thus enraged, embarraſſing their Government, labouring to plunge it ſtill deeper into the ſame Evil, by endeavouring to perſevere in the ſame Foreign Meaſures, and to prevent their wiſeſt and moſt honeſt Men from availing themſelves of the moſt fortunate Opportunities to preſerve the Nation, and to retrieve paſt Errors; till, at length, from the Exceſs of popular Power, the Weakneſs of their Government, the Want of Virtue in Particulars to reſiſt the Temptation of falſe Popularity, the Want of Courage to withſtand a factious Calumny, and the ſecret Intrigues of a Foreign Court, inviſible to themſelves, tho' glaring to the whole World beſides, they were encouraged to attempt direct Rebellion, in Favour of a Pretender, whoſe Advancement to the Throne was morally certain to have fixed the Chains of Arbitrary Power, for ever on their Country.*

After this, ſome may poſſibly demand, Why then have you recalled to publick View, theſe former Errors of the Miniſter? As I am ſure I have done it with Integrity, ſo I am deceiv'd if I have not done it with ſolid Reaſon.---The Sore, that rankles, muſt be opened and deeply probed: The Man, who would, in this Diſorder of the Publick, ſerve his Country, cannot hope to do it by concealing Faults.---To deny notorious Truths, is an Attempt to impoſe upon Mankind, too groſs to be borne; the Nation is honeſt, though it is deceived, and will liſten to no Arguments, that are obviouſly mean, ungenerous, diſhoneſt, or uncandid.---Not to acknowledge what I have done in the preceding Pages, would be to accuſe the People of unjuſt Reſentment during a Space of 20 Years:—And, as in the preſent Conjuncture, I think it my Duty to accuſe them of unjuſt Reſentments, and to convince them that they are juſtly accuſed; by a contrary Conduct, I could not fail to provoke, inſtead of

healing

healing Animosities; to lay a Foundation of Prejudice, which no Solidity of Reason could be able to remove; and infallibly defeat the honest Intention, which alone has led me to give the Publick and myself the Trouble of this Discourse.

It was likewise necessary to do this for another very important End, to give the Clue to the true Source of our Misfortunes, and to the Origin of the late Opposition; which can be the only Means, either to moderate the Rage of the Publick, to remove their Prejudices, to distinguish their Friends, to direct them to the Knowledge of their Enemies, to preserve their just Attachment to their Prince, or to maintain the Constitution of their Country.

For when the People mistake the Cause, their Conclusions must be false and dangerous---their Opinion of those, who see more clearly, and act the best for their Interests, easily abused---they are liable from false Causes assigned by wicked and artful Men, to think desperately of Government, and to seek for Remedies not adapted to the Disease, and of so violent a Nature, as to tear the Body Politick to Pieces.

And that this has been the Case, will become very manifest upon a due Consideration of this Deduction of our Affairs during the late Administration---the People not considering well the Spring of this unhappy Train of Conduct, have been falsely and infamously taught, that it took its Rise from the Treachery of the Minister, and from a low and private Prejudice in the Prince to his Foreign Dominions, abetted by a Band of corrupt Mercenaries, and supported by the Defects of a Constitution, which gives too much Power to the Crown—None of which is true.

It was the Embarrassment of our Affairs, first, by the Peace of *Utrecht*, and since, by a timid, obstinate and indeed selfish Character in the Minister.—It was the unavoidable Consequences of the Treaty of *Hanover*, which was made before his Majesty's Accession to the Throne, but for which he was therefore not answerable, and which it was afterwards infinitely difficult to redress. —It was a Chain of fatal Circumstances, neither derived from a greater Degree of Corruption than will be found in any opulent State upon Earth, nor from any Defects, but what (or worse) are found in the purest Constitution under Heaven: All which will more fully appear by the following Deduction.

But to return---In this Crisis of Affairs, Ruin abroad appeared almost impossible, highly improbable to prevent,---the Nation at home in such a Ferment, that nothing but Confusion was by every rational Man expected.---To avert either, it was obvious that the Minister must be removed, the Publick neither would

would, nor could have engaged in thoſe expenſive Undertakings which were our only Reſource, under the Conduct of ſuch a Man.—But how to effect this Change was the great Labour.—There is Reaſon to believe, that his Majeſty was as much convinced of the Neceſſity of a Change, as the Miniſter was convinced that it was high time to prepare for it.—It was even certain, that the beſt Men in the Oppoſition began to fear greatly the Effects of the Spirit they had raiſed, however neceſſary, however juſt it had been to raiſe it; but the greateſt Danger of all was to have deſiſted in that Conjuncture. Thus even they who were moſt ſenſible of the dangerous Ferment, were by Neceſſity compelled to raiſe it ſtill higher to prevent its fatal Effect.—Oppoſition was redoubled with a Degree of Fury, which nothing but this Circumſtance could warrant.—The Dilemma was great on all Sides—the more the Miniſter was preſſed, the more difficult and dangerous it was both for him and for the Publick to give way—and had he been diſintereſted enough to have reſigned his Power in the Manner ſome would have adviſed it, to ſpeak honeſtly, there was Hazard not only to his own Perſon, but to the Intereſt of his Maſter, and the Conſtitution of his Country.—It was dangerous to depend upon the Moderation of a Party ſo combined as it now appeared to be, and heated with ſo unavoidable a Fury. On the other hand, it was impoſſible for the honeſt Men, embarked againſt him, to have deſiſted either.—Matters had been driven too far to rely upon the Prudence of their Antagoniſt, and they had too many Examples to venture to truſt that even this Danger could have reclaimed his indomptable Spirit of Peace. It was equally unſafe, both for the *Publick* and *themſelves* to have riſqued the double Danger of their Enemies, and the Reſentment of their Friends—If by ſuch an indiſcreet Retreat, *they had much weakened their Party*, they could not have had ſufficient Aſſurance, that the Miniſter would have made that juſt and wiſe Uſe of it, which could have been their only Inducement for ſo diſintereſted a Meaſure.—He might have employed this Acceſſion of Strength, to have confirmed himſelf in his imprudent Politicks, to have ruined Liberty, under the Pretence of deſtroying Faction, and have taken this Opportunity to have wreaked his private Revenge.—Again, if this Conduct ſhould have had a different Effect, *and not much weakened the Party they left*, it muſt have ſerved only, to precipitate the Views of bad Men, and left the Nation diſtracted and mad under the Lead and Direction of the worſt and moſt dangerous Perſons in the Kingdom.—Upon the whole, it was neither in the Power of the one to *retire*, nor of the other to *deſiſt*.

Moſt

Moſt certain it is, whatever the ignorant Vulgar may think, or wicked Men pretend, that the domeſtick Peace was at this Conjuncture in the utmoſt Hazard, and that at this Hour we had been involved in horrible Confuſion, if his Majeſty's Prudence had not dictated, and aſſiſted us in the middle Way of Moderation, in which all Safety conſiſts, by yielding to a Change of the Miniſter, and yet reſolving to defend (as far as in him conſtitutionally lay) the Perſon of the Man removed, from the Rage and Fury of the Time. By this Meaſure, that intire Victory of Party, which muſt have produced inſufferable Inſolence, and raiſed unforeſeen, extravagant and irreſiſtable Expectations, was awarded with its Conſequences, which, like a Torrent, would have broke in upon us, and in a mercileſs manner ſwept away both good and bad who had given Oppoſition to it, and probably carried before it, in its Tide of Reformation, all the Guards and Securities of this happy Conſtitution.—Had the Government been taken by Storm, had the People been once blooded, who can ſay where he would have ſtopt, or who could have had Authority to caſt down the Bar before them.—In ſuch Conjunctures, Reaſon and Experience ſhew us, that the private Soldier drives his Officer before him—all Order and Diſcipline are at an end—and whoever endeavours to reſtrain the Violence, is looked upon as an Enemy diveſted of his Command, and new Leaders choſen out of thoſe, who with moſt Fury and leaſt Remorſe will carry Devaſtation furtheſt.—By this Meaſure therefore, Time was given for many to reflect, who in the Heat of ſuch an Event, would have been hurried Lengths they never intended to have gone, and plunged into Precipices, which many, who have eſcaped already, conſider with Horror, that they lately ſtood ſo near, and which many more, as they conſider and cool, will every day look back upon with equal Terror.—This Conduct likewiſe afforded opportunity to make the proper Alterations by degrees, and with a deliberate Choice, to put the publick Affairs into the hands of Men, who were diſtinguiſhed, rather by their Abilities and Integrity, than by their Heat and Paſſion, or popular Accompliſhments.—It gave room to weaken Faction, by the Gratification of ſome warm Men, but to do it ſo as not to encourage its haſty Growth again.—It prepared a way for a laſting Change of Meaſures, and ſecured an Intereſt to ſupport them at the ſame time; as it enabled thoſe who had acted under the former Adminiſtration upon wrong Principles of Policy without Fear of Ruin, or Shame of Tergiverſation, tacitly to reclaim their Conduct, and prevented that fatal Evil, (which was otherwiſe inevitable, and muſt have brought our Affairs

into a worſe Condition than ever,) the raiſing a new Oppoſition out of the defeated Party, whoſe Number, though defeated, were at this very Conjuncture equal to thoſe by whom they had been compelled to yield.—Thus this prudent Firmneſs on the one hand, and prudent Condeſcenſion on the other, manifeſtly ſaved this Nation from Perdition—the beſt, the moſt able, the moſt conſiderable Men, and thoſe of the true Whig Principle, were ſeparated from a wicked Party, with whom Neceſſity had obliged them formerly to unite, and who were upon the point of getting the Direction of the Publick into their hands, under the pretence of delivering it from another Danger, which, great as it was, could not be worſe than that.—And thus the Government now ſtands upon the Foundation of a true Whig Intereſt, upon which alone it can ſafely ſtand, ſupported by Men, united by the manifeſt Revival of that Principle, which would bring them both to Ruin.

We are now come to that Period of Time, when the late Oppoſition ceaſed, and a Separation was made between the *Whigs* and the *Tories*; they had travelled on in the ſame Road to this Point of a Change of the Miniſter; and the Power to change the Meaſures was in their own hand.—This, as I have very ſufficiently ſhewn, was the firſt and ſole Intention of the *Whigs*, ſo that their Journey was at an end; but the others were to travel further, and we ſhall ſhortly ſee through what miry Paths they went.—It was almoſt a Miracle they had kept company ſo long.—The *Tories* had plainly ſhewn, upon the late Motion, how little they were to be depended upon, even in the Proſecution of their common View; and for the *Whigs*, they had never pretended, never given any encouragement to think, that they ſhould continue Oppoſition longer than till they had carried theſe Points.—Nay, till this Event, the preſent Leaders of the *Faction* themſelves affected to intend no more.—All Men of Senſe, who knew them well, knew, that this was only Colour, to take away Suſpicion of their dangerous Deſigns.—What happened was therefore no Surprize to them, and, to ſay the truth, their Principles and Views being thus widely different, they muſt *both* have been inconſiſtent with themſelves, if they had not *both* done as they did.

A Change of the Adminiſtration being now become abſolutely neceſſary, the Equality of Parties being ſuch, that no Buſineſs could be carried on, this Change was reſolved.—In order to effect it, it was neceſſary to adjourn the Houſe.—It required ſome Time to deliberate upon the firſt Changes, and for thoſe Members of the Oppoſition, who were to be firſt taken in, to be rechoſen.

To

To this Adjournment (which was for 15 Days) all the Houſe agreed, the Whigs knowing the Neceſſity of it, and that a Change could not be ſafely made without it, and with theſe concurring, all thoſe who had private Views, and expected to reap a perſonal Benefit from this Change.—The Leaders of the *Tories*, who have ſince treated this Meaſure as iniquitous in the higheſt Degree, made no Objection to it then; they had one or other of the two Reaſons before-mentioned to induce them to it. The Reader may aſſign that which he thinks moſt probable, upon a Conſideration of their ſubſequent Behaviour.

In this Conjuncture, theſe Gentlemen thought it highly neceſſary to make their appearance at the Court, to which ſome had never gone ſince the Acceſſion of the preſent Royal Family upon the Throne; and many had abſented themſelves ſo long, that they feared they might be forgotten, which was by no means convenient, when ſo many great Employments were to be conferred in a few days.—It was neceſſary to convince the Prince, that their only Reaſon for abſtaining from this Demonſtration of Reſpect before, was their ill Opinion of the late Miniſter, and that they were now ready to ſupport his Majeſty's Meaſures, as warmly as the beſt Friends he had: But alas! the Sincerity of their Reconciliation, and the ſecret Condition of it, unhappily for them, were both as well underſtood at that time, in the Place to which they went, as they have ſince been clearly manifeſted in the Nation.

Thus far all Things proceeded well and quietly—not a Word was utter'd of any farther Reformation. The People were then ſuffered to think as they were naturally diſpoſed to do. *A Change of the Miniſter, and the Introduction of honeſt Men into the chief Employments, was thought the utmoſt Object of the People's Wiſh, and muſt in the end enſure whatever elſe was wanting.*

Tranquility continued till an *Honourable Gentleman*, who had been conſiderable in the *Oppoſition*, was made *Chancellor* of the *Exchequer*.—This began to claſh with the Expectations of others; but ſtill, as there were many great Employments left, they were not yet tranſported far enough to declare a new Breach—ſo that they ſuffered this Gentleman to be re-elected without any Oppoſition.—The next Thing done, was the Appointment of the new *Treaſury*, which when they found compoſed of that Set of Men called *Whigs*, and but one *Tory* admitted upon that Bench, they began to murmur openly.—It was however ſtill too ſoon to take their final Reſolution—the Boards of *Admiralty*, and *Trade*, were not yet actually ſettled, and they waited the Event of the Diſpoſition there.—But when that of the Admiralty was taken into conſideration, for which ſome of the leading *Tories* were deſigned (and

which all were willing to accept) His Majeſty having refuſed to admit one particular Perſon, and they thinking that the Reaſon aſſigned for that Exception might be a dangerous Precedent, which muſt equally affect great Numbers of their Body, it was reſolved to exert themſelves upon that Occaſion.—They accordingly inſiſted ſtrongly for this Perſon, and for ſome others, and in fine, for ſuch a Diſpoſition there, as was impoſſible to be complied with—which as ſoon as they found, and that the other Offices were not yet propoſed to be changed, they reſolved to keep no further Meaſures. Nothing was to be left to the Diſpoſal of the Sovereign, as ſoon as it appeared that he would not wholly reſign himſelf into the Hands of *Tories*, and that he preſumed to make Difficulties in admitting, even any one of thoſe, who had been ever marked, by their Friends as well as Enemies, as the Leaders of a *Party*, entitled to a ſtronger Denomination.

Some few Men of a different Principle, who deſerve a better Fate, by the Heat of Paſſion, the Effects of Ambition, and the common Fear of not being provided for to their Wiſhes upon this Occaſion, unhappily fell at this Time into the Views of theſe People; upon whoſe Shoulders they vainly imagined they might lift themſelves to what they now began to fear they ſhould never reach; and among theſe, *a Man*, whoſe Merits, Abilities and Weight entitled him to the higheſt Eſteem of all Parties, whoſe Error (of which he has been ſince too late convinced) is repaired to his own Conſcience, by his retiring from them; but can never be repaired to his Country, by his having retired from its Service in Conſequence of it.—This Appearance of a few *Whigs* on their Side had a very ill Effect: Under this Colour, they paſſed for what they have ſince ſhewn they were not:—Many young and undiſtinguiſhing Men, and many of the People, having no Apprehenſions to engage with an Oppoſition, which they at firſt ignorantly think directed by *Whig* Principles, becauſe they ſee a few *Whigs* among them: And the Difficulty of breaking from ſuch Engagements of Party, being ſo great, that few have Honeſty or Spirit to do it afterwards, when convinced of their Miſtake.—But as we have already obſerved in the Beginning of this Paper, *All Oppoſitions are compoſed of Individuals of all Denominations: And an Oppoſitions is not leſs a* Whig *Oppoſition, becauſe it is joined by* Jacobites *and* Tories; *nor a* Jacobite *or* Tory *Oppoſition leſs a Faction, becauſe it is joined by* Whigs: *But the Difference lies in the Spirit, that predominates, and in the Men that direct.—For, if the* Whigs *have the Aſcendant and can force the Reſt into their Meaſures, Methods ſafe and honeſt are purſued.—But,*

if

if the Jacobites *or* Tories *have the Lead, or* Whigs *only bear the Name of Leaders, and are in Reality driven, by the Spirit of thoſe with whom they are connected, the Meaſures of Oppoſition are then equally carried on upon the* Jacobite *or* Tory *Views, as we ſhall prove it to be the Caſe at this Time; and ſuch an Oppoſition is, to all Intents and Purpoſes, a* Jacobite *or* Tory *Faction.*

Thus hurried by Impatience, heated by Deſpair, the *Faction*, with theſe unnatural Allies, after a vain and tedious Expectation of eight Days (for ſo much of the fifteen Days of the Adjournment had already paſſed, and they were not yet provided for) upon the 11th of *February*, 1741-2, a Day, which perhaps this Nation may have Reaſon never to forget, they came to a final Breach.—From this exact Period may be dated the Death of the late memorable Oppoſition, and the Birth of a fatal Faction, who have already laid the Foundation of Calamities, which will require much Wiſdom and Virtue to avert; and which, only that Providence, that has ſo often remarkably interpoſed to ſave this Nation, can entirely preſerve it from.

It was given out in dark Whiſpers, that the *Whig* Leaders of the Oppoſition, who, by their Abilities and Services had obtained the foremoſt Rank, in whoſe Hands the Settlement of this great Affair therefore naturally lay, and with whom, from the Knowledge of their Principles, the Government could only treat, had betray'd their Party; that the Circumſtances of this Treaſon were ſuch as to require a Conjunction of all honeſt Men to reſiſt and to defeat it; that the Proof was undeniable, and that it was neceſſary the Matter ſhould be laid open before the whole Oppoſition: The Members of the Oppoſition were all ſummoned, and the Expectation of Mankind raiſed to the higheſt Pitch: As well they, who underſtood the Nature of this Meeting, as they, who underſtood it not, out of equal Curioſity concurred to attend it: And among the reſt, the Gentlemen, who conducted the new Settlement, and thoſe, who had been already taken into Employment, were deſired to be preſent to defend themſelves againſt this formidable Accuſation.

The Charge was introduced with great Solemnity; "Gentlemen were reminded of the dangerous Situation to which "the Nation had been brought by the late Adminiſtration; "how glorioufly and ſteadily they had perſevered in the Op- "poſition; how happily at length their honeſt Endeavours, "and the juſt Spirit of the People, had brought them in ſight "of the long wiſh'd-for Port; that as every Set of Men had "contributed to bring this important Point to bear, it was "juſt all Denominations of Men ſhould receive an equal Re- "ward

" ward of their Virtue; that if a proper Uſe were made of " this happy Conjuncture, this Reward might be obtained; " that the total Rout of the Miniſterial Party was what they " had a Right to expect; and that this would make Room for " all.—But that there was too much Reaſon to fear, that " this Uſe would not be made of the happy Opportunity; " that a few Men had preſumed, without communicating their " Proceedings to that Aſſembly, to take this Work upon them- " ſelves; that by their Manner of doing it, they had ſufficient " Cauſe to apprehend they did not mean the general Ad- " vantage; that they had been now eight Days in this Em- " ployment; and by the few Offices they had as yet beſtowed, " they were juſtly to be accuſed of not acting with the Vigour " that was expected of them by the whole People.—That " among other things, what adminiſtered Matter of great " Jealouſy was the Choice of thoſe already preferred; that this " Choice having fallen principally upon *Whigs*, it was an ill " Omen for the *Tories*; and that if they were not to be " provided for, the happy Effects of the Coalition of Parties " muſt be deſtroyed, and Parties again revived to the great " Prejudice of the Nation; that it was therefore highly ne- " ceſſary to unite cloſely, to keep firmly together, and to " continue to oppoſe, with the ſame Vehemence as ever, till " Juſtice was done the *Tories*, and till the Adminiſtration was " founded upon the *broad Bottom* of both Parties."

A Right Honourable Gentleman, ſince advanced into another Houſe of Parliament, with whom the Management of this Change was chiefly entruſted, together with ſome of thoſe, who were lately taken into Employment, anſwered theſe Objections to their Conduct with great Temper.—" They firſt ob- " ſerved, how hard a Treatment they had met with in return " for the long Services they had done their Country, and the " Share they had confeſſedly had in bringing the Oppoſition to " the Point at which it was arrived, now upon frivolous Pre- " tences, and a Jealouſy, in the Nature of Things, not yet " poſſibly grounded upon any ſolid Foundation, to be brought " before ſuch a Tribunal, accuſed publickly in the Face of the " whole World, of that, which no ſingle Man dare in pri- " vate, to their Faces, charge them with; loaded with Suſpi- " cions, which once raiſed are hardly ever to be wiped off by any " Conduct; and branded with the Imputation of an ima- " ginary Crime, ſo eaſily to be believed in the then Temper " of the Nation;—that they deſerved a very different Uſage, " by the Integrity, with which they had hitherto proceeded, " and with which they were determined to proceed:—That

" as

" as to the taking the Management of this Affair into their
" own Hands, the Overtures having been made to them, it
" was their Duty, and it would have been the Duty of
" any Man, to whom they had been made, to have uſed his
" beſt Abilities to have brought about a happy Settlement,
" after the Diviſions, by which this Country had been ſo long
" torn; and which could not longer ſubſiſt without the utter
" Ruin of the Intereſts of this Nation abroad, and the Danger
" of fatal Diſturbances at home:—That the ſuperficial Vulgar
" might imagine it a more proper and equitable way to refer
" this Settlement to the Deciſion of the whole Party; but
" that no Man of tolerable Underſtanding and Experience
" could cheriſh an Idea ſo impracticable and abſurd; that Go-
" vernment was not yet reduced to ſuch a Point, as to ſur-
" render at Diſcretion, eſpecially to an Enemy, who had de-
" clared ſo publickly they would give no Quarter; that Go-
" vernment neither *could*, *would* nor *ought* to be taken by
" *Storm*; and that it behoved Gentlemen to conſider what
" muſt inevitably be the Conſequence of ſuch an Attempt;
" that the great Points were to change the Miniſter, and to
" change the Meaſures: That the one was viſibly already done,
" and they would engage to perform the other. That, as to the
" Diſtribution of Employments, there was neither Juſtice,
" Decency, Duty or Moderation, in dictating to the King,
" how to diſpoſe of every Preferment in the State; that his
" Majeſty had ſhewed a Diſpoſition to comply with the De-
" ſires of his People in the moſt effectual manner; for he had
" already ſupplied the principal Miniſterial Poſts with Men,
" who had hitherto been moſt confided in by the People, and
" ſuch as could not have given Occaſion to the People to have
" changed their Opinion of them; becauſe, though nominated,
" they had none of them yet done any ſingle Act of Office:
" That as to the Changes already made, they were as nume-
" rous as the Importance of the Matter, and the Nature of
" the Thing could poſſibly admit ſo ſoon, and that it might
" have been more to the Credit of their Party, if their Pa-
" tience had extended a little longer than the few Days, that
" had paſſed ſince the Time of their Adjournment.——As
" to the partial Diſtribution of Employments to the *Whigs*,
" that ſo far as their Intereſt ſhould hereafter extend, they
" would uſe it faithfully to his Majeſty, and their Country,
" by recommending ſuch to ſerve him, whoſe Principles they
" knew had been miſrepreſented, and who were true to his
" Family, let their Appellations be what they would: But
" that it might be well ſuppoſed a Work of ſome Time, to

" remove

" remove Suſpicions inculcated long, and long credited, with " Regard to a Denomination of Men, who had formerly been " thought not heartily attached to the Intereſt of the Prince " upon the Throne; that ſome Inſtances, of this Intention, " had been already given in the late Removals, and there " would be many more, but that it muſt depend upon the " prudent Conduct of the *Tories* themſelves, wholly to abo- " liſh theſe unhappy Diſtinctions of Party. In fine, they " begged of them to conſider how falſe a Step they had already " made,——and that this paſſionate and groundleſs Diviſion " would infallibly give new Courage to the Party they had " juſt ſubdued; that it diſcovered a Weakneſs, of which Ad- " vantage would be certainly taken; that it muſt inevitably " leſſen the Power of thoſe who were employed, and, if per- " ſiſted in, would in a great meaſure prevent the Succeſs of " their Views, both for the Publick, and their Friends."

It is not to be ſuppoſed, that any of theſe Reaſons had much weight on the different ſides of the Queſtion.—The Abuſe and Indecency, with which the Gentlemen newly taken into the Adminiſtration were treated, upon this Occaſion, plainly convinced them, and every intelligent Man, that the Deſign of this Meeting was to throw them off, that the *Tories* might now diſengage themſelves from the Direction of the *Whigs*, under whoſe Conduct they had been reſtrained, and with whom they could never expect to carry the Point they had in view.—They could never have taken a better Opportunity, than that of the National Ferment of the Time, nor have done it with leſs Suſpicion, or encreaſed their Numbers more than by doing it, when the Suſpicions of Men were, as they always are in ſuch Conjunctures, diverted another Way, and when the Fears, Diſappointments and Diſguſts of many of different Principles, naturally led them all to join with any Set of Men that ſtill continued to oppoſe.—We have already obſerved how far theſe Paſſions had miſled ſome *Whigs*, that, inſenſible of the fooliſh Part they play'd, they lent their Names to colour the Deſigns of the *Tories*, and became the Tools to preſs publickly for their Admiſſion into Employments, which they could not, with any Decency, nor without diſgracing themſelves with the People, have ſo glaringly inſiſted upon themſelves.

The Publick quickly found the Effect of this wicked Conduct, for it deſerves no better Name.—It was no ſmall Aſtoniſhment to many, who had hitherto concurred in the Oppoſition, and gave no ſmall Diſguſt to obſerve it.——No Man of Senſe and Honeſty thought he could juſtify adhering longer to a Set of Men, whoſe Party-View was now ſo openly avowed, and

and who, like a Band of *Huſſars*, had abandoned themſelves to the Plunder, even before the Battle was half done; they knew the Conſequence muſt be, at leaſt, that this mercenary Conduct would ſuffer the Miniſter to eſcape uncenſured.—— All therefore they could hope farther to do, was to prevent his Return into his former Station, and to procure a Change in his Syſtem of Politicks, to get the beſt Laws they could, to prevent the like Abuſe of Power, and at leaſt to ſecure it in the Hands of thoſe, who they thought leaſt likely to abuſe it in their own Time.—It is true, they never intended to have given the *Tories* the Lead in the Government, or to have made a *Tory* Adminiſtration; from the Nature of that Party which I have ſufficiently explained already, they had been falſe both to their King and Country, if they had done it —— But they honeſtly did intend to have promoted the moſt moderate of that Party, deſirous of uniting, by this Experiment, as many as they could, in Affection to his Majeſty, and his Royal Family; to which the Gratification of private Expectations is with ſome a very neceſſary Step.—But their Conduct was ſuch, as diſabled them from carrying their Views much farther for them, and had they preſſed it after this, their own Principles muſt have come into Suſpicion.—They had therefore juſt Grounds to have made a total Separation from them; but from a Regard to their Country, they ſtifled their Reſentments; they advanced ſeveral *Tories* ſhortly after, and ſome into very great Poſts ſince that Time.—They united to promote an Enquiry into the Conduct of the late Miniſter, which they puſhed as far as the Strength of the oppoſite Party, who were now rallied upon theſe Diviſions, could poſſibly admit, and far enough to ſhew ſuch Errors in his Adminiſtration, as rendered it impoſſible for him to be employ'd again.—They engaged the Government to purſue Meaſures entirely oppoſite to the pacific Plan ſo long fatally purſued; they maintained their Principle of ſupporting the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and furniſhed her with effectual Supplies; and they carried a Place Bill to leſſen the Miniſterial Influence in Parliament.—In Foreign Affairs they did every thing that could be wiſhed, and much more than could have been expected; in Domeſtic, they went, if not quite as far, as perhaps they might have ſafely gone, yet as far as they could go ſafely in ſuch a Ferment; or indeed, as they were able to go, when thus deſerted and weakened by the Madneſs of theſe Men.

We have now ſhewn the Commencement of the preſent Oppoſition, which from its Origin may be eaſily judged what it is.—Its Origin plainly was, not from any wrong Meaſures,

in the Leaders of the late Oppoſition, for (as they juſtly obſerved themſelves) they had as yet done nothing when they were thus deſerted; no more than *eight Days* had paſſed ſince the Retreat of the Miniſter; and the *Parliament* had not yet met; ſo that it was impoſſible the *Faction* could have done it from any Obſervation of their wrong Behaviour *there*.—Had the *Tories* been as wholly proſcribed, as it was falſely ſuggeſted they were intended to be, was the late Oppoſition began upon the Principle of bringing them into Employment, or was it the *Right*, or the *Concern* of the People to inſiſt who ſhould have the moſt beneficial Places?—The Principle of the late Oppoſition was, as it has been fully ſhewn, to bring back this Nation to its true Politicks with Regard to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and the Balance of Power.—Was the Purſuit of Places ever avowed to be the Grounds of Oppoſition? it has been indeed ſatirically imputed to be ſo upon all Occaſions, but it was never ſupported by the Publick upon that footing, nor ever avowedly confeſſed to be ſo, by any Oppoſition, before this which now diſtracts this Country; and which I therefore juſtly and truly call by no other than its proper Name, and ſhall farther prove, by its ſubſequent Proceedings, to be a *Faction*, if ever a *Faction* did or can exiſt in *Britain*.—And as the Tree is beſt known by its Fruits, we ſhall be particular in tracing its Conduct ever ſince.

As it was too ſoon to ſtile themſelves *a new Oppoſition*, becauſe the Parliament had not yet met, and they knew not what Meaſures would be purſued; they therefore formed themſelves, for the preſent, under the Title of the *Broad-Bottom*; a Cant Word, which correſponding equally with the Perſonal Figure of ſome of their Leaders, and the Nature of their Pretenſions, was underſtood to imply, a Party united to force the Tories into the Adminiſtration.

Thus intitled, they laid their general Plan of Action, reducible to the following Heads, which were the known Eſtabliſhment of their Predeceſſors in the ſame Faction.

1*ſt*, To villify and abuſe, without Meaſure, Mercy, or Reſerve, all, who in any one ſingle Vote ſhould differ from them.

2*dly*, To advance or inſinuate any Falſhood, or miſrepreſent any Meaſure, however groſsly, to the better ſort of Men, if they could propoſe to delude or inflame the People by it.

3*dly*, To ſpirit up the People againſt the Re-election of any Member into Parliament, who ſhould accept of any Employment.

4*thly*,

4*thly*, To wean the People from their Affection to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, to diminiſh their Apprehenſion, or to encreaſe their Fears of the *French* Power, *either*, juſt as Events ſhould make it moſt convenient to do. To undermine the great and ſalutary Principle of ſupporting a Balance of Power upon the Continent, by Pretences of the Inability of the Nation, of the Folly of engaging in Wars, in which we propoſed to make no Acquiſition for ourſelves, and of the Security of this Nation in its maritime Force alone, let what would happen upon the Continent.

5*thly*, To bait the People by the Proſpect of an Encreaſe of Popular Power, by propoſing Alterations in the Conſtitution, the *Effects* of which, and conſequently the neceſſary *Meaſure* of which, the common ſort are by no means able to underſtand.

6*thly*, To poiſon the Affections of the People to the Prince upon the Throne, by endeavouring to convince them, that every publick Meaſure was influenced by his Ambition, Reſentments, Paſſions, or Attachment to ſome Foreign Territory.

[a] Mr. *Addiſon* obſerves in one of thoſe excellent Papers called the *Freeholder*, which he wrote expreſsly againſt the ſame Faction, then in its Zenith, ſoon after the End of the late Queen's Reign; that even at that Time perſonal Abuſe had been remarked to be the prevailing Characteriſtick of that Party,—and he gives the Reaſon for it, which ſtill holds good at this Day, *That having nothing of Weight to offer againſt their Antagoniſts, if they ſpeak at all, it muſt be againſt their Perſons; when they cannot refute an Adverſary, the ſhorteſt Way is to libel him, and to endeavour to make his Perſon odious, when they cannot repreſent his Notions as abſurd.*—It was the *Fort* of their Party, and practiſed at all Times; it was by the infamous Obſervation of that Maxim, *Calumniari fortiter ut aliquod adhæreat*, and by their ſcandalous Perſonalities againſt the great Duke of *Marlborough*, the preſent Dutcheſs, the Treaſurer *Godolphin*, and all the Whigs who ſupported their glorious Meaſures, that they routed them at laſt.—They met with too much Encouragement then not to tread in the ſame Steps,—the *Examiner* had then the Impudence to accuſe that Miniſtry of carrying on that War *upon different Principles from thoſe upon which it was begun*, which could not have been, unleſs that War had been begun upon the Principle of preſerving inſtead of diſtreſſing *France*.—And the preſent Faction, with equal Aſſurance, ſcandalouſly inconſiſtent, as they are themſelves, accuſe the new Part of the Adminiſtration of *Inconſiſtency*, at the Time they are carrying on Meaſures for reducing *France* with the utmoſt Vigour; when it is noto-

[a] *Freeholder*, N° 19.

rious, to have been the grand Principle and View upon which they engaged in Oppoſition. Yet glaringly abſurd and ſhameleſs, as this Charge evidently appears to be, upon the leaſt Reflection, they have actually and incredibly, by their Emiſſaries properly planted, and properly inſtructed, brought Numbers of the Vulgar to join in the chorus of this Song.—No Man could venture to vote on a different Side in the moſt indifferent Propoſition, but he was treated with immeaſurable Abuſe :—By this Exceſs of Calumny and Malice, they had more than one Advantage in View.—It ſerved to terrify weak Minds to return and be more ſteady.—And though ſome Men of true Spirit might be the more determined to deſert them, they found the Loſs of theſe outbalanced by the Number of thoſe, who were awed and intimidated by it.

In this manner the whole World muſt be ſenſible how far they have proceeded, ſparing neither Age nor Sex, Rank nor Character,—which Abuſe has been ſwallowed with as much Diſgrace to thoſe who have received it, as to thoſe who have delivered it. But Envy and Malice are two great Ingredients in the Tempers of Men, and the Commonalty look upon the Indulgence of this crooked Diſpoſition to be a Mark of an independant Spirit; according to that old Obſervation of the great Hiſtorian *Tacitus*, *Obtrectatio livor pronis auribus accipiuntur, quippe adulationi fœdum crimen ſervitutis, Malignitati falſa ſpecies libertatis ineſt.*

The ſecond Part of their Plan was purſued with equal Induſtry, the ſame [a] Author, in another of his Papers, obſerves, how ſteadily this Set of Men have conſtantly diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their little Regard to Truth, their little Solicitude for what the thinking Part of Mankind would conſider of their Conduct, or how long the Lye of the Day would laſt.—He enumerates a Multitude of their deluſive Inventions, in the Reign of King *William*, and in his own Time, adding a juſt and melancholy Obſervation, *that their ſelf-intereſted and deſigning Leaders cannot deſire a more ductile and eaſy People to work upon.*—Truſting to this Ductility, and the undiſtinguiſhing Nature of the common Race of Men, they made no Scruple to charge thoſe, who ſupport the preſent Meaſures, with a Change of Principles—Confounding thus the *Oppoſition* with the *thing intended by it*, and making *Oppoſition itſelf* a Principle, which no honeſt Man will ever make it. The People are told, *that it was the Principle of the new Adminiſtration to oppoſe the Government, that they do not oppoſe the Government now, therefore the new Adminiſtration have deſerted their former Principle.* This paſſes for ſound Logick, upon the ſimple Herd they lead. It is vain to ſhew the

[a] *Freeholder*, N° 7.

bare-faced

bare-faced Falacy, *that it was their Principle to oppoſe the Meaſures, only when they thought them bad, and that it was the Meaſures and not the Government they oppoſed; that the Meaſures are now changed, and they think them no longer bad, that therefore they are no Deſerters of their Principle, if they now deſiſt from Oppoſition.*—Confiding farther in the Ignorance of their Creatures, they make no ſcruple to throw into their general Charge againſt thoſe who ſupport the preſent Meaſures, many of thoſe paſt Occurrences and Errors, which happened before their Time, which they formerly condemned, and which are now, (if not equally exploded) at leaſt equally counter-acted both by the new and old Part of the Adminiſtration, and the Conſequences of which they are now every Hour labouring to remedy and avert.—Thus wilfully miſrepreſenting every Meaſure, jumbling and confounding Facts and Dates, Names and Things, ſo crude and ſo irrational, that none but the loweſt of the Vulgar could be able to digeſt them.

They proceeded with the ſame Diligence in the Execution of the third Article of this Plan,—for no ſooner was any Gentleman, who had been engaged in the late Oppoſition, admitted into Employment, than Heaven and Earth were moved to prevent his Re-election. When they had once given over the Thoughts of being employed themſelves, the Note was immediately changed; and it is a Matter never to be ſufficiently admired, how ſtupidly the People, in many places, fell into their Views, without conſidering the Abſurdity of what they were put upon to do. When the Houſe adjourned, the Doctrine then was, as I have before obſerved, that a *Change of the Miniſter, and the Introduction of honeſt Men into Employments, were the utmoſt Objects of the People's Wiſh, and muſt in the end enſure whatever elſe was wanting.* But it ſeems, ſince the *Tories* were not to be admitted, no other Men were to be deemed honeſt. Nay, after a little time, when it was found, that thoſe of more obnoxious Principles were abandoned to Deſpair, even a *Tory*, under theſe Circumſtances, found it difficult to be permitted quietly to be rechoſen—ſo ſilly were the *little Tools* of this *Faction*, as to delight in, and admire at the Wiſdom and Integrity of a Maxim now eſtabliſhed, that none of the *Party* ſhould *have a Place*, till the Views of their *Great ones* were complied with firſt.—They ſtill went on calumniating the new Adminiſtration for not making Changes faſt enough, when they themſelves had ſhut the door againſt it, and when no Man, who was not willing to ſacrifice his Fortune, by the vaſt Expence of a certain Oppoſition, or expoſe his Perſon to the dangerous Inſults of the Mobs they raiſed upon every ſuch occaſion, could accept.

accept.—Thus the People were brought to inſiſt upon a Point, which, like Ideots, they were led at the ſame time palpably to prevent themſelves.—I have not miſrepreſented this Matter; it is well known, that this was the Method of their Proceeding to all Perſons without Diſtinction, and they begun it, before any Man could have given poſſibly any Reaſon to be diſtruſted by his Country, becauſe it was begun before the Parliament met again, after the famous Adjournment. *An honourable Gentleman*, (who by the greateſt Number of Voices, that ever any Man had upon ſuch an occaſion, was elected *Chairman of the Committee of Elections* but a few Weeks before, who in that nice Conjuncture, for his unexceptionable Character, with regard to all Parties, was pitched upon for that Office by the whole Oppoſition, who neither had, nor could have had, at that time, given a ſingle Vote to diminiſh that Reputation,) being advanced to be a Commiſſioner of the *Admiralty* by his Majeſty, (for no other reaſon, but that he was thought agreeable to the People,) was immediately marked out, as an Object of Deteſtation to his Country, and not ſuffered to be choſen into Parliament again.—Another *Right Honourable Member* advanced to the ſame Office, was perſecuted, if poſſible, with more ſcandalous Circumſtances, the Mob of the whole County, for which he ſerved, were hired to inſult him.—Subſcriptions raiſed out of the Pockets of the *whole Faction*, nay preſſed publickly in the very *Houſe of Commons* to make a Purſe to carry on an Oppoſition to him: Though at the ſame time, this *Noble Perſon* was a Servant to the *firſt Subject* of this Kingdom, preferred at his Requeſt and Recommendation, and advanced as a kind of Pledge of Union between the Royal Family itſelf; and though *his Maſter* was confeſſedly the Perſon by whoſe Influence and Concurrence in the Cauſe of his Country, the late Oppoſition was principally brought to its Iſſue, who had ſuffered infinitely more in the Courſe of it, than the meaneſt private Gentleman in the Kingdom, and who had done that for the Publick, which no Man in his Station ever did before him, which could not have been expected of *him*, and after this Treatment, muſt never be expected of *any other* in the ſame Situation.—Thus they gave fair Warning to the *Father*, by their Conduct to the *Son*, what he had to expect from this Set of Men, who, hardened by Diſappointments of their own creating, inſenſibly loſt all regard, either to Prudence, Decency, or Gratitude.

I ſhall not in this Place proceed to obſerve minutely, upon the manner of executing all the other Particulars of their Plan, becauſe it required a conſiderable time before they could ripen the People, into a ſufficient degree of Madneſs, to endure thoſe groſs

groſs Attempts upon their Underſtandings and their Principles, which they have ſince made with too much Succeſs. The Arts to be exerted to theſe Ends, were a little ſlow in Operation, and to be practiſed at firſt tenderly.—However, they ventured to ſound the Ground they ſtood upon, and to make ſome Trial, what Abſurdities the Temper of the Times would bear.

In Order to do this, almoſt as ſoon as the Parliament was met, they began to oppoſe every ſingle Propoſition that was made by the new Adminiſtration; and though now thoſe very Meaſures were purſued, with the utmoſt Vigour, upon which they themſelves, and the whole Voice of the People, had ſo long and vehemently inſiſted; and for not purſuing which an Enquiry was actually ſet on foot, into the Conduct of the late Miniſter, who upon this account was, according to their own Doctrine, to make attonement by no leſs a Sacrifice than that of his *Life*, his *Eſtate*, his *Honours*, and the *utter Ruin* of his *Poſterity*; yet with a bare-faced Aſſurance, which raiſed the Deteſtation and Aſtoniſhment of all reaſonable Men, and which was a very Mockery upon Common Senſe, they oppoſed the ſending 16,000 of our Troops into *Flanders*, the taking 4,000 of the *Iriſh* Troops upon the *Britiſh* Eſtabliſhment, to be ſent after the former, and even in ſome degree obſtructed the Vote for 500,000*l.* to aſſiſt the Queen of *Hungary*.—It was viſible enough, and it had been their own Form of Reaſoning but a few Weeks before, that Meaſures of this kind, nay more vigorous, if poſſible, were neceſſary to be taken in that deſperate Situation in which we then ſtood, to convince the *Dutch*, the King of *Sardinia*, and all foreign Powers, that we were now in earneſt.—The Experience they had long had of our Councils would not ſuffer them to truſt us lightly:—The Form of the *Dutch* Government in particular, made them ſlow to reſolve, and their Situation made it deſperate to engage, till they were ſure of a ſolid Support:—The King of *Sardinia* had heartily and generouſly ſtept into the Breach, but his Circumſtances were, if poſſible, ſtill more critical:—The Kings of *Pruſſia* and *Poland* neither could have ſtopped, if they would, nor probably would if they could, and muſt have been hurried on where *France* ſhould have directed, or their own Ambition have invited; if by the gathering of this Cloud, a Storm had not been threatned from the Quarter of *Great Britain*, which might have created both Doubts and Terror as to the Event of their Quarrel; this was therefore the only way to induce them to be more moderate and circumſpect in their Proceedings. It was certain, that nothing leſs than this could ſuſtain the drooping Spirits of the Queen of *Hungary*, and of her

her diſtreſſed and faithful Subjects, in the deſperate Condition to which they were reduced; it was therefore paſt all doubt, that if theſe Meaſures were not purſued, ſhe muſt immediately accommodate with *France* upon any Terms; and that *France*, having broken the only Power, which could give her any Diverſion in an Attempt upon *Great-Britain*, would have been immediately at Liberty to have joined her whole Power with that of *Spain*, and to have given Law to us:—This approaching Situation of our Affairs was but too viſible; nor was it at all extravagant, or very remote to foreſee, that it would become much worſe; that ſome of the Northern Powers might be induced to enter into her Views, and that even the *Dutch* might, at length, be obliged to act as Inſtruments to the long premeditated Deſign of that dangerous People, to deſtroy the Religion, Laws, Liberties and Commerce of this Nation.—This was plainly not to be averted by any other Means than theſe, and yet were theſe oppoſed, though at firſt in ſo aukward a Manner, that it was viſible they were afraid the People would be ſhocked at this ſudden Turn, and detect their ſhameful Inconſiſtency,—which juſt Effect indeed it had with ſome; yet with ſo many it ſucceeded beyond their Expectations, that it encouraged them to a Conduct of the ſame kind, ſo extravagant, in the next Seſſions of Parliament, as will hardly obtain Belief in future Ages.—But the Order of Time, which is neceſſary to obſerve in this Narration, prevents my giving a farther Deduction of it in this Place.

I ſhall take the Liberty however to follow them in ſome other Branches of their Conduct, as far as they went for the Remainder of that Seſſions, during which they acted conſtantly with due Regard to one or other of the Rules of that Plan before mention.

The Lords having thrown out [a] *a Bill* which the Commons had paſſed, and which was by them thought neceſſary to be carried at that Time, they made a daring Attempt againſt that Body,—they appointed a Committee to inſpect their Journals, and grounded upon their Report a Vote of Cenſure upon that Branch of the Legiſlature,—they fortunately miſcarried in that Attempt, in which, if they had ſucceeded, the utmoſt Confuſion muſt have enſued, and Confuſion muſt have been their only View, for what elſe could be intended, when under the Notion of obliging the Lords to follow their Opinion, without which they pretended the Nation could not be ſafe in future, they openly made an Attempt for an immediate Diſſolution of

[a] The Bill for indemnifying the Evidence againſt the Earl of *Orford*.

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the Conſtitution.—Is the Conſtitution now ſo little underſtood, or has Popular Fury ſo deſtroyed all Traces of it, that it ſhould be neceſſary to explain its Principles at this Day?—Is it not founded upon *this*, which is the *Corner-Stone* of the whole Building, that the *King*, the *Lords*, and the *Commons*, *ſhould have an abſolute Negative upon the Proceedings of each other?*—With what Face then can they, who pretend to ſtruggle in favour of the Conſtitution, by endeavouring to make the Houſe of Commons more independant than it is, at the ſame Time attack the Houſe of Lords, to deprive them totally of the ſame Independancy, to which no man can deny that they have an equal Right; ſuppoſing that they were ever ſo juſtly founded, and entitled to procure further Securities for the Houſe of Commons, it is an incontrovertible Fact, that by this avowed Attempt, and indeed by all the Doctrines of late inſtilled into the Minds of the People, they aim at the Deſtruction of the Conſtitution in another Part, which is equally Eſſential,—the beſt Pretenſions they therefore have, are only theſe; that they build with *one* Hand, and pull down with *another*; and that while they ſtop one Breach againſt the Influence of the Crown, they open a wider, to the Democratical Spirit of the People, —the Conſtitution *may*, nay, it *has*, ſuffered equally from *both* —but what renders it doubly ridiculous, is, that the Crown will equally be able to enter in at the one Breach as at the other,—and every thinking Man may eaſily foretel, that by what Steps ſoever this Conſtitution comes to be deſtroyed, an abſolute Power in a ſingle Perſon, muſt be the final Conſequence, —this Conduct therefore plainly opens to us, how falſe their Pretences to the Conſtitution were, equally falſe with every other they have made.—For however, at times, both the King, the Lords, and the Commons, in their Turn, may have obſtructed what was for the publick Good by this negative Power. —Yet this is no more than what muſt, and ever will be, the Conſequence of a Diviſion of Power in this Conſtitution. —And if, whenever Power is in any degree abuſed, it is immediately to be deſtroyed.—No Government can ſtand, for no Power can be given, but that it is liable to be ſometimes exerted ill; yet ſurely no Man will venture to deny, that it is better to ſubmit to ſome unavoidable Events of Society, than to revert into a State of Nature; but this the People were too much heated to conſider.—It was inculcated, that all Power ought to lie in the People, which, if it be righty underſtood, implies, the People, including all its Magiſtrates and Members, of which both the King and the Lords are undoubtedly a part.—But if it be taken in the confined Senſe of Fac-

tion, imports a Republican Propoſition, wholly contradictory to the Genius and the Principles of this Government; nay, if the People conſidered this as they ought to do, ſo far from being incenſed either with the *Lords* or with the *Crown*, for oppoſing the Popular Points, which they have ſometimes obſtructed, they would not think themſelves intitled ſo much as to repine at it,—they would conſider, that as they have a Title by the Laws of this Country, to ſuch Powers in the State as they now enjoy, they are under no ſort of Obligation to part with them to the third Eſtate,—that this impetuoſity to force them to it, is not only the ſtrongeſt Provocation, but alſo no inſufficient Reaſon to keep the Ground they have, that naturally ſpeaking, by their permanent Intereſt in the Legiſlature, their impoſſibility of ever becoming Maſters of the State, and their evident Intereſt to keep both the Crown and the People from too great an Aſcendancy; the Lords are the Part of the Conſtitution, who are moſt likely to be ſincere in its Preſervation, either from Tyranny or Faction, and therefore the moſt proper to hold the Balance.—The Intereſt of the Lords is undoubtedly to watch and carefully attend to both, for both may in ſome Conjunctures, be ſuſpected to deſire to engroſs the whole Power;—and whenever they throw themſelves into either the one or the other Scale, a rational Man would ſooner judge by their Conduct, how the State of the Conſtitution ſtands, than by any other Circumſtance.—It was intended, they ſhould do this, and be at full Liberty to do it; though ſuch muſt be (and it ever was) their Fate, that which-ever Party they eſpouſe, whether that of the Crown, or of the People, the Heat and Paſſion of the other will infallibly find ſome Pretences of Partiality or private Intereſt to charge them with, as their Inducements to that Conduct.—But they are made to ſtand to all this, and they muſt ſtand this, and be ſupported in it, or elſe our Conſtitution cannot ſtand.—This deſperate Meaſure however paſſed upon the People, like the reſt of their Conduct, as a generous attempt for Liberty, and anſwered the Purpoſe of Popularity, which, next to the View of Confuſion, was their ſecond Expectation from it.

We now come to the popular Bills, with which the People have been ſo much inflamed; of theſe I ſhall take the leſs Notice in this Place, becauſe I have reſerved my ſelf to ſay ſomething farther in the Concluſion with regard to them.—But, tho' I ſhall not here enter much into the Merits of theſe Bills, I muſt ſpeak a little of the Conduct of the *Faction*, with regard to them which cannot be paſſed over, becauſe their Impoſition upon the People was extremely groſs, and their Diſhoneſty in imputing the Failure of them, (ſo far as they have failed) to thoſe who are

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far more innocent in this Reſpect than themſelves: They are chiefly comprehended in *a Law for the better Regulation of Elections*, another *to prevent Members from ſitting in the Houſe of Commons, who have Penſions from the Crown*, in *the Repeal of the Septennial Act*, and *a Law to exclude a certain Number of Placemen from ſitting in the Houſe of Commons.*—Now, as to the firſt of theſe, it is notorious to the whole Houſe of Commons, that it was a Bill, as much laboured by the Gentlemen of the new Adminiſtration, and many of thoſe, who now ſupport the Meaſures of the Government, as it could poſſibly be;—and that they were ſincere, is evident, by what has been ſince done with regard to the *Scotch* Elections in the laſt Seſſions;—the true Reaſon therefore that a general Bill did not paſs at that Time, was one which equally affected all Parties, and which will everlaſtingly prevent an effectual Bill of this kind; and this is the different Rights of Election, which are ſo numerous, that they diſtract and confound the different Intereſts of Gentlemen, which, to ſpeak fairly on all Sides, induces them, by one plauſible Pretence or other, for their private Regard, to *oppoſe*, or to *propoſe*, ſo many different Clauſes, that ſuch Bills at length become impracticable and impalatable to all—the Burgage Tenures too, which Gentlemen will neither part with, nor can tell how to regulate, are another invincible Obſtruction; and the Powers and the Penalties create further Difficulties, which no Human Wiſdom has yet been able to ſurmount.—For this Reaſon therefore, to impute the Failure of this Bill to any Set of Men, is notoriouſly unjuſt, unleſs it were by laying it in ſome Meaſure more ſeverely upon ſome particular Gentlemen of the *Faction* itſelf, who contributed more eminently than others to confound that Part of it, which related to certain Counties, where they laboured to encreaſe the overgrown and almoſt unconſtitutional Intereſt they have already.—*As to the Penſion Bill*, it is a Bill allowed in private by all Parties to be impoſſible to take Effect, becauſe the giving and taking of Gratuities of this kind are Tranſactions of ſo private a Nature, that Men muſt be downright Fools, and both Parties unite to make a Diſcovery againſt themſelves, or the Law could take no effect.—Even in the Caſe, that Perjury muſt attend the Acceptance of a Penſion, it might induce ſome profligate Men to double their Crime;—but it is not to be ſuppoſed, that he who would ſell his Country, would heſitate to violate his Oath.—However, this was the only poſſible Proviſion, and upon this Footing, an honourable Gentleman now in the Adminiſtration, often preſented it to the Houſe;—but the great Care of the preſent Patriots would not truſt it any more in his Hands, after he was taken into Employment, and a wife and buſy

Man among them took it upon himſelf, who being a true Tory, and therefore of a refined Conſcience, and naturally prejudiced to Oaths, purged it of its deteſtable Whig Clauſe, which reduced it to a mere nothing, a Law without a Penalty, ſo that the Bill became a Jeſt with all Parties, and many in that light voted for it *then*, who had always oppoſed it *before*.—The Bill therefore fell into contempt, and was no longer regarded by any one, but him who had garbled it in this judicious manner.—Having thus related the ſecret Hiſtory of this popular Bill, I have only to add, that it is for the Intereſt of the Publick it ſhould never paſs into a Law, and was never deſired by any Man of Senſe that it ſhould;—and yet that it is for the Intereſt of the Publick, that it ſhould be frequently propoſed in the Houſe of Commons, which double Conſideration may render it very conſiſtent for the ſame Man, to vote for it at one time, and to vote againſt it at another,—this may ſeem a Paradox; but it is eaſily explained;—for by frequently bringing it into debate, the Deteſtation and Scandal of ſo baſe a Practice, is maintained in its full Vigour, which is in reality the only Guard againſt it.—Whereas, if the Bill were once paſſed, the great Nothing, which is deſired, being effected, there would be no farther Diſcourſe upon the Subject; thoſe Opportunities of expoſing the Meanneſs and the Danger of the Thing, thoſe animating anniverſary Speeches againſt it would be loſt; and with them in a great degree, the Remorſe and Shame, that now attend the Crime.—We come in the next place to conſider, the Behaviour of theſe Gentlemen with regard to *the Repeal of the Septennial Law*, in which they have deluded the People ſcandalouſly: It is true, that they moved for this Repeal, and that ſome of the Gentlemen in the Adminiſtration oppoſed it; but they did it upon a Conſideration, which ought to have, and will have the greateſt Weight with every thinking Man; they took juſt Notice of the tempeſtuous Temper of the People at that Time, and the yet unſettled Condition of our Affairs; they then obſerved, that the Repeal of this Law muſt cauſe a new general Election before it could be poſſible that theſe Diſorders ſhould ſubſide, and before they could make any ſolid Judgment of the effects of the late Change; that as every new Election hazarded, at leaſt, the Syſtem of the Time; foreign Nations would not exert themſelves in this Conjuncture; from a Dependance on the Principles of Men, who might probably be changed, and conſequently new Politicks prevail, almoſt as ſoon as they had been embarked with us;—That as the like Conſiderations had juſtified the Meaſures of the Septennial Law at the Time it was made, ſo the Conjuncture of this Time might prevail, at leaſt ſo far, as

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to continue till it might be debated fairly, and with leſs Heat and Partiality, than it could poſſibly be at this Period, whether the preſent Eſtabliſhment of Parliaments ſhould ſtand; and, if that ſhould appear improper, whether we ſhould fix upon an Annual or a Triennial Election;—that a Triennial was objected to with ſtrong Reaſon, and that many thought an annual would be leſs dangerous; but that it was difficult to ſettle either in the preſent diverſity of Opinions upon it:—At the ſame time, ſome of the *principal Leaders of the Faction* voted againſt it themſelves, and that *without giving any Reaſon at all*; ſo that the People were deſerted in it, by thoſe very Men, upon whom they depended to carry it through, and who with a baſe Concealment of this Fact, make no ſcruple to lay the Miſcarriage of this Bill, in which they had, at leaſt, an equal Share, ſolely to the new Adminiſtration.—We now come to the *Place-Bill*, in which their Conduct was deteſtable, for jealous of the Honour and the Popularity, which the new Adminiſtration naturally ought to have acquired by it, they not only falſely miſrepreſented it in the moſt outragious manner, but even openly oppoſed it: The new Adminiſtration had acted in this with the utmoſt Prudence and Sincerity, and had done much more than could have been expected of them.—The *Crown* and the *Lords* are known to be jealous of the Growth of the *popular Intereſt*, and it is by mutual Jealouſies of this kind, that our Conſtitution can alone ſubſiſt; the Violence and Extravagance of the Leaders of the Faction did not diminiſh this Jealouſy; the Courſe of the late Elections, and the Temper of the People, not only ſhewed it leſs neceſſary than it had been conceived before by many well-meaning Men, but their Demands were ſo unlimited, and ſo little Contentment ſhewn with former Compliances, that there was in truth very little Proſpect of regaining the good old Temper of the Nation by any thing that could be done;—this rendered it the more difficult to obtain any thing; for it was well known, that no Bill brought in by theſe Incendiaries, would be moderate enough to gain the Aſſent of the three Eſtates; it was therefore the only Method that could be taken to enter into a tacit Treaty with the Lords, to agree upon ſome Bill of this nature, which they ſhould previouſly engage not to reject.—It was ſurely better to procure ſomething, than by puſhing for more to get nothing. The Lords agreed to this:—They conſented not to oppoſe a Law, that ſhould exclude above thirteen conſiderable Employments then actually enjoyed by Members of Parliament, and above two hundred ſmaller Offices; which, by conferring three or four upon one Perſon, might have made a vaſt

Number

Number of additional Preferments, a Thing ſtill in the Power of the Crown, notwithſtanding any former Laws, to have done.—But at the ſame time, they abſolutely declared they would go no further at that time, till they had ſeen how far this would operate upon the Conſtitution:—This Difficulty removed, it was neceſſary to gain the Conſent of the Houſe of Commons too; but the *Oppoſition*, by their Breach with the *new* Adminiſtration, had been ſo weakened, and the Friends of the *old* had now rallied to ſuch a degree, that there was no carrying any Point by Force againſt them. Thirteen or fourteen of that Party, who were more than ſufficient to have turned the Scale againſt the Bill, were, as we have before obſerved, of the Number to be excluded by it; it could not be expected that they would abandon their Employments inſtantly, to pleaſure their Antagoniſts; the only way poſſible to gain their Conſent, was to poſtpone the Execution of this Law to the End of the preſent Parliament: The deferring its Execution for ſix Years was not material to the Conſtitution, and it was thought by all moderate Men, a great Sacrifice in his Majeſty, a Condeſcenſion in the Lords, and an honeſt Acquieſcence in the Perſons poſſeſſed of theſe Employments; in the one to reſign ſo much of his *Prerogative*, in the other to ſtrengthen the *oppoſite Side of the Balance*, and in the third to part with their *Employments*, which they had a Proſpect to preſerve much longer than that Term. The Impoſſibility therefore of gaining more, if more had been palpably neceſſary, muſt have juſtified the new Adminiſtration for getting this: But what made it more infamous to reproach them upon this Head was, that it was actually more than was ever gained by the People, at any one Time, or by any one Bill before:—The other Acts for limiting the Number of Placemen in the Houſe of Commons were all of them obtained one after the other, and at different Periods; though more therefore had been ſtill wanting, they ought to have contented themſelves for a Time with this, as their Predeceſſors had done in the like Conjunctures:—But the *popular Spirit* diſgraced itſelf upon this Occaſion, and ſuffering itſelf to be led away by Men, who ſtudied nothing but their private Ends, gave too juſt handle for that Inſinuation, which muſt be moſt fatal to all *its Views*, and for a Charge upon the *People* of *England*, which has been too juſtly laid againſt all others, that give them one Thing it only leads them to expect more, and that nothing but a total Tranſlation of all Power to their Scale will put a Period to their Clamour: What therefore was done by the Faction in this Inſtance, was viſibly done only with a View to deſtroy the good Opinion of a Law, the moſt truly popular, that

that was ever obtained by this Nation; if they could effect this, they did not care what the People loſt by it, either in their real Security, or in the Suſpicions, that would ariſe with thinking Men, of their dangerous Views againſt the Conſtitution; they knew (which is abſolutely the Caſe to this Day) that not one Man in 500, whom they ſhould enflame upon this Subject, would ever read, or conſider the real Extent, of this Law; they ſuggeſted to the People, that the new Gentlemen in the Adminiſtration had formerly contended for *a total Excluſion* of all Employments; and thence imputed an Inconſiſtency to them, becauſe they had now excluded what they *falſely* called a *few*, whereas this never had been the View, nor ever was intended by thoſe Gentlemen at any time: They never contended for a Place-Bill much more extenſive than the preſent is, and yet it may be juſtly ſuppoſed, that they did, and might honeſtly inſiſt upon more than they thought ſufficient, as the only way to obtain a Compromiſe at laſt, for that which was.

This Plan of creating Confuſion was purſued in many other Reſpects, and by many other Miſrepreſentations equally groſs and wicked; which are too tedious to be mentioned here:—The laſt I ſhall mention in this Place, is that with regard to the Enquiry into the Adminiſtration of the Earl of *Orford*.

We have ſhewn already how juſt Offence his Conduct had given to the *Whigs*, and how by a fatal Series of pacifick Meaſures he had brought almoſt the ſame Cataſtrophe upon his Country, which ſome day or other will too probably be effected by another Set of Men:—The *Whigs* avowed their Oppoſition to be levelled at this Man, not out of any perſonal Averſion to him, but becauſe he was irreclaimable in this fatal Point; the *Whigs* had levelled at this Man for another Reaſon, which was, during the Courſe of this neceſſary Oppoſition, to prevent the Diſcontents from taking a Turn to the Prejudice of the Royal Family, and had confined themſelves in their Attack to his Perſon, that by the Removal of one Man they might leave it in the power of the Government to reſtore the publick Tranquillity again whenever they ſhould think proper:—It was therefore upon an honeſt, though political Principle, that their Oppoſition was thus perſonal; not out of thoſe vindictive and ſanguinary Views, which in the Courſe of the Oppoſition the *Tories*, who had allied themſelves with them, treacherouſly in private Diſcourſe accuſed them of, and which now they upbraid them with having departed from.—Yet allowing that ſome Men in their firſt Engagements in the late Oppoſition, had embarked upon perſonal Motives, and had been

been heated to this Degree by their Reſentments, or the Diſappointment of their Ambition, ſhall it be forbidden to Age, Experience, Reaſon, Virtue and Reflection, to take their happy Effect, and moderate thoſe Paſſions, which are in themſelves wicked and unwarrantable; and ſhall it be imputed as a Crime to any Man to have ſacrificed his private Views and his Reſentments, as ſome have greatly done upon this late Change, to the Peace and Tranquillity of their Country: But it is the Nature of theſe Men in their *Alliances*, to expoſe the *Faults* of thoſe, with whom they act, and in their *Enmity* to traduce the *Virtue* of thoſe they act againſt.

However, though the *Whigs* in the late Oppoſition did not mean to purſue their Vengeance to the Head of this Miniſter, they certainly did mean to deprive him of all his Power, and to ſet ſome Mark upon him that might prevent his Return into it again, and if poſſible deter any future Miniſter from the ſame unhappy Conduct.—One Part of this they have been able to effect, and it is the moſt immediately neceſſary, and the moſt material; and we ſhall honeſtly ſhew the Reaſons why they did not compaſs the reſt,—Reaſons very ſufficient to ſupport them againſt all the infamous Suggeſtions of the Faction.—I ſhall ſpeak with Freedom and with Candour.

Whoever duly conſiders the Courſe of the Miſmanagements of this Man, of which I have purpoſely given a large Deduction, will evidently ſee, that the infamous Peace of *Utrecht*, in which it is well known he had no hand, naturally laid their firſt Foundation;—the Diſorders ariſing afterwards from the unſettled State of *Europe*, brought on the *Quadruple Alliance*, that, in Proceſs of Time, begot the Treaty of *Hanover*, and from the Treaty of *Hanover*, by the fatal Blunder of joining *France* againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*, he became involved in ſuch Difficulties, as he could never recover.—But ruinous as, to ſpeak fairly, all his future Meaſures were, they were of ſuch a Nature, as could not be imputed to any corrupt Engagements with any foreign Power, upon which Ground alone the Publick think it warrantable to purſue him to Deſtruction.—I muſt repeat it, the very Nature of his imprudent Conduct clears him from a Suſpicion of this; he proceeded round the Globe, obliging and diſobliging every Power of *Europe* in its Turn.—This he reiterated ſo often, and provoked them all ſo much, that it is morally impoſſible, the Reſentments of theſe Powers, ſhould not have produced a Diſcovery of this Treaſon, if any ſuch there had been.

This is palpably the Fact, this is honeſtly the Truth, with regard to his *Foreign* Tranſactions, and every *Domeſtick* Subject of Complaint naturally flowed from the ſame Spring.

For

For Oppoſition grew inſenſibly ſo ſtrong upon this untoward Step, that it drove him to practiſe any Art, to defend not only his Power, but his Perſon,—his pacifick Obſtinacy became at length in a manner neceſſary both to himſelf and to his Country;—he dreaded the Confuſion which he apprehended from a Change,—the Event hath ſhewn he had ſome Reaſon, tho' he blended his private Fears too much with his Apprehenſions for the Publick—an Error which every Man's Tenderneſs to himſelf expoſes him to,—he foreſaw what has ſince happened, that even a juſt, a neceſſary, and a ſucceſsful War, nay, a War demanded by the whole Nation, would ſecure no Miniſter, who engaged in it, from the Diſcontents, which the bare Expences, and much more the various Accidents that attended it, would infallibly create.—That private Views, and corrupt Principles, influence ſo great a Majority in every Oppoſition, that though the Points were complied with, upon which they then inſiſted, they would ſtill, in general perſevere; that they would even miſrepreſent the Conduct of their own Plan, and that however ſcandalous it is for a Nation to preſs its Government into Meaſures, and to deſert them when engaged, yet that in the heated Multitude, the Majority are compoſed of Men, in whom ſuch Scruples are not found.—He foretold, what has been ſo well verified, that the Enemies of their Country, however low and dead they may appear in Times of Quiet, revive in the Heat of War, like Flies and noxious Inſects in the Sun. He therefore thought that in attempting to appeaſe the publick Diſcontents, by complying with their Demands for War, he ſhould only furniſh Fuel for their farther Nouriſhment.—He knew, that by the fatal Conſequences of *Party*, National *Diſſatisfaction* is, in this Country, very nearly allied to *Diſaffection*,—as much as he at firſt deſpiſed the *Tories*, he dreaded them as much at laſt,—he juſtly feared that the Succeſs of the *Party* that oppoſed, though led by *Whig Leaders*, and founded upon *Whig Principles*, would infallibly end in the Formation of a *Tory Faction*; and he dreaded, from that Faction, what every wiſe and honeſt Man dreads from it in this Conjuncture, and what we ſhould have already fatally experienced, if ſome, from whom perhaps he leaſt expected this Moderation, had not gallantly oppoſed themſelves to the Torrent, thinking it the more incumbent upon them to reſtrain its Fury, and confine it within juſt Bounds, as they, (though honeſtly and neceſſarily compelled to it,) had been the Men who raiſed it, preferring the ſolid Satisfaction of having twice ſaved their Country, to all the Noiſe of giddy Popularity, reſigning it when they could no longer keep it by virtuous

Means, deſpiſing the Rage and Malice of a *Faction*, ſincerely pitying, but determined not to follow an honeſt, but deluded People, who after paſſing many Dangers, and perhaps ſmarting for their Folly, will live to do Juſtice to the great Characters, they now licentiouſly and injuriouſly defame.

Theſe were the Principles upon which the Earl of *Orford* went, and this was the whole Myſtery of his unfortunate Adminiſtration.—It is eaſy to point out both his *Follies* and his *Faults*.—His *Folly* was to lay down for this Country, a Syſtem prudent for a petty State, but very improper for a Country, which bears ſo great a Sway, and ought to take the Lead in *Europe*.—It is for a little State to purſue little Meaſures, to temporize, to truſt to Expedients and Events, to wait for Accidents, and the Activity of other Powers. But this is a Policy ill becoming us, and fatal ever in its Conſequence, both to ourſelves and to our natural Allies, whoſe Rank and Condition of Power compels them to conſider an immediate Security, and can never admit them to exert their Force againſt that *State*, whoſe conſtant Aim is Univerſal Monarchy, till we raiſe the Standard firſt, and convince them, that under that Protection they may do it ſafely. His *Folly* appeared in another Inſtance, in not yielding ſooner to what he could not hope long to prevent, an Evil which gathered Strength, and became more dangerous by Delay, and by the Means he was obliged to uſe in order to delay it.—His *Fault* lay in his Fondneſs to continue in his Power, which induced him, or miſled him, to overlook the true Intereſt of his Royal Maſter, and his Country, and to purſue the Maxim of Peace to a ridiculous Extravagance. By this *France* was raiſed,—by this our Allies were ruined,—by this the Safety of *Britain* was reduced into the utmoſt Hazard,—and by this his Country became contemptible abroad, and hateful at home; till, to ſupport his Syſtem, and to preſerve his Perſon, he was at length driven to make uſe of every Means of Miniſterial Influence, to ſtrain every Nerve of Power, allotted by the Wiſdom of our Anceſtors for the Security of Government, and to apply that Force to his own Defence.——By all this he has brought the neceſſary Guards of our Conſtitution into Diſrepute, and has eſtabliſhed an Opinion in many, and a Suſpicion in more, that our Conſtitution is impaired; whereas, in truth, it has only been abuſed,—a Difference extremely great, and ſuch, as if not attended juſtly to, may hurry us into the Uſe of Remedies much worſe than the Diſeaſe. In this Light does the Conduct of this Miniſter appear to every moderate Man, and no doubt in a yet more favourable Light to thoſe who were his Friends, who had concurred in his Meaſures many Years, who owed him many Obligations.—Never

was

was a Man in private Life more beloved, and his worſt Enemies allow, no Man did ever in private Life deſerve it more: —He was humane and grateful, and a generous Friend, to all whom he did not think would abuſe that Friendſhip.—That he was falſe, and determined to the Prejudice of thoſe, whom he conſidered in this Light, is no more than will be found in any Miniſter or Man,—and that he ſhould be deceived in ſome Caſes, by unjuſt Suſpicions, is but human too. —Many therefore have been unjuſtly treated by him, though but few conſidering the Manner in which he was preſſed, and the great Length of his Adminiſtration.—This Character naturally procured that Attachment to his Perſon, which has been falſely attributed ſolely to a corrupt Influence, and to private Intereſt; but this ſhewed itſelf at a time when theſe Principles were very faint in their Operation, and when his Ruin ſeemed inevitable.—The Violence with which he was puſhed, the Ferment of the People, who would content themſelves with nothing but his Life, made theſe Men exert themſelves in the extraordinary manner they have done to preſerve him.—Many, who condemned his Conduct, and would have gone ſo far as to have deprived him of a Poſſibility of exerting the ſame again, did not think it warrantable to take that ſevere Revenge, upon an obſtinate miſtaken Man, who had indeed violated the Intereſts of his Country, and treſpaſſed upon the Power in his Hands, but who had not expoſed himſelf to the Penalty of any one known Law.—This *Summum Jus*, appeared to them to be *Summa Injuria*, and the Laws muſt have been more tortured to have reached him capitally, than he had ſtrained his Power to maintain himſelf:—Yet had he not been defended in the manner in which he was, (offenſive enough to thoſe who conſider the *Manner*, and not the *End*) ſuch a Sentence, in the Rage of that Time, had been, in all Probability, his Fate.—Few were in their Hearts inclined to this Extremity, though many, by the fatal Attraction of Party, might have been drawn to have ſigned his Warrant, who would have afterwards heartily lamented what they had done.—Had it been even neceſſary to have taken this violent Step, there is in *Engliſhmen*, as ſure a Seaſon for Compaſſion as for Fury:—To the *latter*, they are eaſily *raiſed*—from the *former*, when the Deed is done, they never can be *diverted*. An Adminiſtration *founded* in, or a Party *cemented* by *Blood*, would have been the *Loathing* of this *Nation*, and in this caſe would have been ſo *juſtly*.—If this be truly conſidered, was it not more honeſt, was it not more juſt, to ſtop ſhort, without even that Puniſhment, which perhaps very many think was due, than

to have carried that Puniſhment ſo far, as to have fixed the Guilt of Murther upon this Nation.---And leſs than Murther it can hardly be, to take the Life of any Man, which no Law of this Land could have taken from him.---Theſe Conſiderations operated with ſo many, that had it been ever ſo juſt, it was not practicable to have gone farther with him;---the other Members of the Legiſlature reaſoned firmly upon the Reflections I have mentioned, the Majority of the Houſe of Commons thought ſo too.---The farther Purſuit might have therefore been an Amuſement to the Multitude; but it was not for *that alone* reaſonable to perſiſt in it, as no good End could follow from it, the Effect could have only been Confuſion, and a Handle to blacken and reproach the Characters of Men, whom Gratitude, Principle, and juſt Scruple with-held, and who were fixed to with-hold for ever.---All that I have here obſerved is, not out of any affected Tenderneſs or Complaiſance to him, or to his Friends, but only to ſhew how natural it was to have met the Obſtruction in this Point that has been found, and how impoſſible it was to have proceeded farther with this Miniſter, than was done by the new Adminiſtration.---We have ſeen, that the very Men, who reflect upon them for it, had been by their intemperate Behaviour the great Cauſe why the Party of the late Miniſter had rallied. Their Violence in this Particular, was the finiſhing Stroke;---no other Point could have united his Friends in the ſame Degree.---It was obvious, after the firſt Experiment, that this muſt have been the Caſe; opiniatring this Matter further, therefore manifeſtly proves, that they meant nothing, but to make this Man's Cauſe an Engine of Sedition, by which they laboured, to render a Perſon, who *in Power* had done *great Prejudice* to his Country, the *total Ruin* of it *in his Fall.* I ſhall conclude, with regard to this Particular, with only one Obſervation, That of all Men living, the *Tories* have the leaſt Reaſon to vilify his Conduct.---Firſt, becauſe it was the Diſorders cauſed by their wicked Conduct in the Peace of *Utrecht*, that firſt laid the Foundation of all the Errors of this Miniſter.---Secondly, Becauſe the *Whigs* had not proceeded in this ſanguinary Way, againſt a Miniſter of their *Faction*, whoſe Conduct had been directly levelled againſt his Country, and who had aſſiſted in a Plan for effecting that which at leaſt appears, to every *Whig*, the greateſt of all Crimes, the advancing a *Popiſh Prince* upon the Throne, and ſacrificing every Thing to *France*, to compaſs this pernicious View.---And, Thirdly, Becauſe they had *themſelves* ſtopt ſhort but the Year before, upon a Motion which tended only to remove the Miniſter from Power;---their Behaviour therefore againſt

againſt the Miniſter in the preſent Time, ſhews, firſt, That they are without Shame; ſecondly, That they are void of Gratitude; thirdly, That they are falſe in their pretended Zeal, and conſequently, that their Behaviour upon this Head ought to be odious to every Man, who has any Senſe of Virtue, Honeſty, or Honour; but their Point was to miſrepreſent the new Adminiſtration, and the ſame Deſire of Miſrepreſentation, led them to fall ſoon after, without Mercy, on the Characters of the Members of the Secret Committee, ſome of whom, not long after, obtained Employments, which they thirſted after themſelves, and the View of which was ſo apparently one of the Grounds of their own Oppoſition.---This they pretended to be a Proof of Treachery and Corruption, in the Perſons upon whom they were conferred; whereas the juſt Reflection to be made upon it, was moſt pleaſing to all well-meaning Men, ſince it was a convincing Evidence, that the Prince upon the Throne bore no Reſentment even to thoſe of his Subjects, who were engaged in the deepeſt manner againſt his late Miniſter, when he was once ſatisfied, that they were not tainted in their Principles, either to himſelf, or to the Conſtitution of their Country.

Thus it was, that the Faction proceeded as ſoon as they loſt ſight of their private Advantages, and the Proſpect of a *Tory Adminiſtration*.—Every one of their Proceedings viſibly appeared to tally with the Conduct of the ſame Faction in all former Times:—They could not be miſtaken, and there wanted nothing to fix it upon them, but direct Attempts to poiſon the People, with regard to the Prince upon the Throne, and to the Royal Family.—This farther Evidence was not long deficient, for even before that Seſſions was over, the Publick ſwarmed with ſuch Seditious and Treaſonable Libels, and impudent Productions, both in Verſe and Proſe, as never had been endured in any Age or Nation, which, encouraged by Impunity, have ſince riſen to a Point that calls aloud for ſignal Puniſhment.—But to what it arrived at laſt, is not yet Time to relate; it was not till the next Seſſions, that the Maſk was compleatly taken off, and the Method I have laid down obliges me, firſt, *to obſerve the Conduct of the new Adminiſtration during the Interval of Parliament, the Succeſs of their Meaſures, and the Difference that appeared in the Situation of our Affairs at the ſecond Meeting of the Parliament.*

Now, as to the Conduct of theſe Gentlemen in the Adminiſtration, and thoſe who have acted with them, it appears undeniably, from what we have already ſhewn with regard to the *Faction*, that they could act no other Part than to ſupport the Meaſures of the Government.—Firſt, Becauſe theſe Meaſures were their own, they were directed by themſelves, and it is

a palbable Abſurdity for an Adminiſtration to oppoſe itſelf. Secondly, Becauſe nothing but Ruin could have enſued, either *at Home* or *Abroad*, if they had not deſiſted when they did.

For if they had not deſiſted when the Miniſter was removed, and when the Direction of the Meaſures was left to them,—one Month's Continuance of the former Adminiſtration, muſt have deſtroyed the Houſe of *Auſtria* without Redemption,—and they had been much more criminal even than the late Miniſter himſelf, if they had neglected this Opportunity to ſave it, and refuſed when it was in their power to do it;—again, if they had declined the Acceptance of this Power when it was thus offered to them, what equal, or what other Benefit could have accrued to their Country by it?

It is obvious that nothing but Confuſion at home could have been effected by it.—Their Party had been broken wilfully by the intemperate Conduct of the Faction; and it is abſurd to imagine that Parties thus broken can be ever reunited:—By the Effects of their Madneſs, the Miniſterial Party, which had never been vanquiſhed, and had only retreated, were now rallied, and as they were before equal, were now as viſibly ſuperior in the Houſe of Commons, as they had been all the Time before in the Houſe of Lords, and in another Place;—the reaſonable and the moderate Men had already, or certainly would have left them; and if a civil War had happened, every Man of Family and Fortune had been driven from them by it. Now that a civil War had been the Conſequence, is the Opinion of every Man of Experience in this Country: The Symptoms of it never appeared ſo ſtrong in any Period of our Hiſtory; many knew this who concealed it, and ridiculed the Apprehenſion, reſolving to run all Riſques for their private Advantage, and many more becauſe it was the only probable Way of ſucceeding in the great View peculiar to their Faction.—Convulſions of this kind are never foreſeen by the Generality of Men; for if they were, they could not poſſibly happen, becauſe Faction would be deſerted before it could proceed ſo far: The People of *England* were drawn on to the great Rebellion by the very ſame Pretences, with which they were now encouraged to perſiſt; they were told that the oppoſite Side would yield if they continued firm:—None or very few of the Parliament of 1641 thought that the King either would or could have reſiſted; Sir *Benjamin Audyard*, a very leading Man in the Oppoſition of that Time, upon his Death-Bed grievouſly lamented that he had been deceived by *Pymm* and *Hamden* into this Opinion; *Whitlocke*, another of that Stamp, ſtrongly obſerves this Management in the Faction of that Age; both Lord *Clarendon* and *Whitlocke*, and indeed all

all the other conſiderable Hiſtorians of that Time, agree upon it, and remark the Aſtoniſhment of the whole Nation, when the King took the Field, and the Battle of *Edge-hill* was fought; that they began ſorely to repent, but it was then too late, and they were obliged to go on:—Now if a King of *England* at that Time, who had ſtrained Prerogative ſo high, who had manifeſtly declared his Pretenſions to abſolute Power, who had galled both the Poor and Rich, and had ruled with a Rod of Iron, could have ſtood his ground ſo well, and during that Conteſt frequently brought his Antagoniſt to the Brink of Ruin, and his People to the Verge of an irredeemable Bondage, what Man can think ſo baſely of his Countrymen in this Age, as to imagine, that a Prince would now find no Friends, who has ſtrictly made the Laws of this Land the ſole Rule of his Government from the Beginning of his Reign; under whom no one Inſtance of illegal Conduct can be alledged, and againſt whom nothing was pretended to be urged, but the having upheld too long a Miniſter, who was odious, (whether juſtly or unjuſtly, no matter which,) to his Country; when even this had been done in a legal Way, nay when that Miniſter had been actually removed at the preſſing Inſtances of the People, and before the Majority of either Houſe of Parliament had pronounced him guilty of any Crime:—This Opinion therefore is very weak, and weaker ſtill when we compare that Time with this. There was then no *Pretender* to the Throne, from whom a Change of Religion, and a Confiſcation of Eſtates might be expected, which Fears would operate upon many now, and cannot fail to tye a mighty Number ſteady to this Family; that Prince had no Revenues, and he had no Army; the preſent Prince has both: And though he neither could nor would employ either to enſlave his People, he undoubtedly would and could exert them in his own juſt Defence, and in that of the Conſtitution of his Kingdoms; and he would be warranted before God and Man to do it:—But would any Man of Senſe, any Man who ſincerely loved his Country, deſire to drive things to this Extremity?—It is vain to flatter and cheat the People with an affected Tenderneſs for Liberty, when they preſs ſo furiouſly to put it upon ſuch an Iſſue:—It needs no *Solomon* to paſs a Judgment to which of the two Parents this Child belongs.

In truth there was no Poſſibility for an honeſt Man in his right Senſes to act any longer with this Party, when it was notorious by their Conduct, and by their Declarations in their Meetings to ſupport what they called the *Braad-Bottom*, that their Conteſt was not only ſo in Fact, but avowed to be for private Profit and Employments. When in that Conjuncture, all the

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Cry againſt thoſe, who were firſt taken in, was grounded ſingly upon the Non-admiſſion of all the *Tories*, and others of known worſe Principles; had it been either wiſe or honeſt to have ſtopt that Settlement of our Affairs ſo infinitely neceſſary to prevent Ruin Abroad and Confuſion at Home, for the ſake of any private Men whatever, and much more for the ſake of Men of ſuch a Character? It had been already done in ſome Degree; it was earneſtly wiſhed to have done it farther; It might have been prudent in ſuch a Time, to have gratified even the private and corrupt Views of ſome for the Publick Tranquillity; and it would have been done, if the publick Safety could have ſuffered it; in proportion as the Moderation of Particulars could have allowed: But the Violence of the Faction put it beyond Diſcretion, and out of the Power of Government to do it. Their Conduct fully confirmed all former Suſpicions; the Demand was too general to be complied with; the Execution expected too ſuddenly; the Nature of it too diſguſtful to diſpoſe the Heart of any generous Man to yield. There is a Degree of private Intereſt, which may, which muſt be allowed to human Nature. It is not Honeſty but Folly to decline any Advantages, which are not procured by any Sacrifice of Principle, or any other unworthy Means; but when it appears barefaced and impudent, when it is regardleſs of all ill Conſequences, when it attempts to raviſh and over-power all juſt Authority, it then becomes deteſtable, dangerous and muſt be cruſhed at all Events; was it not enough that the Miniſter had been borne down by the People? that every Day produced new Changes in Favour of the new Adminiſtration? Muſt the Government, the Privy-Council, all Employments in the State be canton'd out *ad arbitrium populi*, nay by a *private Cabal*, or at the *Tavern-Meetings* of a direct *Faction?* What would the rational World think of this Conſtitution, if the Laws of this Country put this Power into the Hands of the People; but how much more monſtrous, if it ſhould, or could be ſuffered to be done at their Caprice, without any Law at all, and by their own arbitrary Will?

When a Combination viſibly appeared, to exclude all Men from a Re-election into Parliament, who accepted of Employments; when the moſt expenſive Oppoſitions were created by all the worſt and moſt corrupt Means to turn ſuch Elections againſt the Perſons who accepted; how was it poſſible for the new Adminiſtration any longer to purſue their View of bringing in their Friends, much leſs of making that Rout among the Placemen of the old Party, which was ſo vainly and abſurdly inſiſted upon?---When it was now on a ſudden become the wild Doctrine of the People, to let no Placemen at all into Parliament;

and

and when the Doctrine of the Faction was, that none ſhould be ſuffered to come in but by their Conſent and Approbation; was not the Abſurdity of *the firſt* a thing, that rendered it impoſſible; the Conduct of *the other*, of ſuch a Tendency, as no Government can or ought to bear; prepoſterous beyond the Power of Words to expreſs it, inconſiſtent with the Conſtitution, ſubverſive of all Order in the State, and productive of ſuch Conſequences, as muſt have encouraged Faction to a Degree, that would not allow one Hour's Peace in future Time to this Country.

With Regard to the Popular Laws, the Leaders of the Oppoſition ſincerely wiſhed many Things amended in our Conſtitution; they had begun by a *Place Bill*, by the *Alteration in the Mutiny Bill*, with Regard to the Billetting of Soldiers in the City and Liberty of *Weſtminſter*, have ſince proceeded by *a Law for regulating the* Scotch *Elections*, and by the *Abolition of the Pot Act*, which being under the Regulations of the *Exciſe*, and ſettled at the *arbitrary* Eſtimation of that *Commiſſion*, was a heavy Oppreſſion, and great Inſtrument of Influence through the whole Capital; and they *ſtill do honeſtly mean*, as faſt as they can, to rectify all other Matters of *juſt* Uneaſineſs.—But was it poſſible, as Things were circumſtanced, or would it be prudent, in any Time, to make every Alteration of this kind at once?—If theſe Things be duly conſidered, they are great Points already gained.—Theſe Things however are ſaid to be nothing, but the little Content they have given is no Proof that they are nothing.—I wiſh it may not rather lead to prove, that nothing but a total Change to Popular Government will do.—In ſuch an heated Condition, was it fitting that Popular Bills, be they neceſſary, or be they not, ſhould be raviſhed by Force; when all thoſe different Plans of Reformation, which, during the Courſe of the former Oppoſition, had been propoſed by Men of different Principles, never approved by all, and aſſented too temporarily by the different Parties *only* for the ſake of Union,—poſitively known not to be all neceſſary, but moved as *Succedanea* to each other; when one was loſt, to ſupply its Place by another, not in the View to procure *all*, but in Hopes at laſt to get *ſomething*.—When all theſe different Propoſitions were now ignorantly and groſsly confounded by the Vulgar, and blended into (what was never dreamed of, or intended in the greateſt Fire of Oppoſition) one regular Scheme of a new Conſtitution, and when this was inſolently made the *Alternative* of *Peace* or *War* between the *Governours* and the *Governed*,—when, among thoſe who thought themſelves moſt moderate, no two Men agreed upon what was neceſſary.—Some thinking that all Se-

curity lay in a good Place-Bill, about the Degree and Extent of which they likewiſe differed.—Some in a *Penſion-Bill*, which others more juſtly thought would ſignify nothing.—Some in a Law for *Triennial Parliaments*, which all who did not delight in Riot, or in the Proſpect of Corruption, thought both dangerous and dubious.—Some for *Annual Parliaments*, which others thought too frequent.—Some for *Juſtice on the Earl of* Orford.—Others not for ſanguinary Views.—Some for *a Reduction of the Civil Liſt*, which others thought unjuſt to be taken away, having been legally given.—Some for the *Sale of all Employments*.—Others for allowing a few.—Some for taking *the Diſpoſition of them out of the Crown*, which others thought Anti-Conſtitutional.—Some for *allowing them to ſubſiſt*, but to be given only *to thoſe who were not in Parliament*, that is, among *themſelves*.—Some to allow them but *to be given for Life*.—Some for making the *Army independant*.—Others for *no regular Troops at all*. In this Paſſion, Irregularity, and Uncertainty of Publick Opinion, if the Leaders of the Oppoſition had ſtood out till the People were ſatisfied, it is plain they muſt have ſtood out for ever.—For what Conceſſions ſoever had been made, the Bulk of that Set of Men, who, as I have obſerved in the Beginning, compoſe all kinds of Oppoſition, would have ſtill remained diſſatisfied.—And this Set of Men, whether in the Right or the Wrong, always aſſume to themſelves the Title of *the People*. Farther, whatever ſingle Points had been obtained, it was now become a Maxim, that nothing was got, if all was not got, and at leaſt thoſe who had not been gratified in their reſpective favourite Propoſitions, would have ſtill continued to abuſe and villify in the ſame degree.—And if all had been granted, which was impoſſible, and abſurd, (becauſe, as I have obſerved, all was never by any wiſe Men intended,) many others had been offended and terrified, at ſo great a Change in the Conſtitution, to the other Extreme.—They would have juſtly complained, That the King and the Lords were rendered uſeleſs, that an Anarchy muſt be at length the Conſequence, that the People would be raiſed to the Power of doing tumultuouſly every thing they liſted, and that being arrived at this Power, they would naturally fall under the Direction of wicked and factious Men, who would lead them to purſue a thouſand wilder Projects, which would have daily opened in proportion to their Succeſs. In conſequence of this, a new Oppoſition would have riſen upon quite contrary Notions.—This Oppoſition would have naturally degenerated into thoſe deep *Monarchical Principles*, which would have brought us back again to *Paſſive Obedience*, *Non-Reſiſtance*, *Hereditary Right*, and all that *Train*

of

of *Nonſenſe*, which infeſted the *Reaſon* of this *Country* ſo many Years.—Great Numbers are to be found in this Nation, who will not truſt to the limited Views of the People, who know, that when they gain one thing by Force, they are taught from thence to extort every thing by the ſame means; that as ſurely as *Princes* aim at *abſolute Power*, the *popular Intereſt* equally drives at a *Democracy*; and when they are put into a Condition to enforce their Demands, never will deſiſt in any Country till they get it.—This is not the Meaning of any honeſt Man, who would ſooner keep this Conſtitution, with all its Faults, than put to Sea in Storms to ſearch for another.—The People and Tribunes of *Rome* never reſted till they got the Power of the Commonwealth into their Hands:—Their Ambition then became ſo notorious, their Views ſo corrupt, their Attempts ſo mad, that the Senate they oppoſed, and endeavoured to deſtroy, (though themſelves not wholly free from Blame,) made Friends by the Extravagance of their Antagoniſts, to reſiſt them.—In the Reſiſtance, private Men grew too great for both, and the Conteſt ended in the Loſs of Liberty.—It did ſo in *England* in the Time of *Cromwell*; the People never ceaſed puſhing for the whole Power, till Reaſon came on the Side of the Crown;—the *King* was then enabled to reſiſt, which, when he did, if he had conquered, the Nation had been Slaves to him,—as it happened, the popular General became the Tyrant.—The unreaſonable Oppoſition of the Cortez to the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, compleatly ruined the Liberties of *Spain*,—it was worked up into Rebellion, and it would be good to remark the Pretenſions of that Oppoſition, the Commencement, Courſe and Iſſue of that Rebellion, if we had time to do it here.

Yet no Man will deny, but that the People and Tribunes of *Rome* were in the Right to oppoſe the too great Power of the Senate to a certain Point.

The People of *England*, to oppoſe the weak and wicked Government of the Miniſtry of *Charles* the Firſt, had they known where to have ſtopped.

The Cortez of *Spain*, to have exerted their Privileges, had they done it with Moderation, and without falling into Faction.

The *Error* lay, in not being contented with the juſt Conceſſions that were made to every one of theſe.

The *Crime* in attempting by Force to alter their reſpective Conſtitutions, which ought ever to be deemed ſacred:—Conſtitutions once eſtabliſhed, can never be with Juſtice altered, but by the full and free Conſent of the different Members of the Legiſlature.—It is intolerable for any one Member of it, to force the reſt to concede any thing. Such an Attempt rarely

falls to meet the Fate, which attends Injuſtice in all its Steps; it ſeldom ends, but in the Ruin of the Projectors, and in the utter Defeat of what they project.

As long as Men, by legal Ways alone, endeavour to procure Laws, which appear good to them, and quietly ſit down under their Diſappointment, if a Majority cannot be prevailed upon to come into their Opinions, and do not inſolently think themſelves entitled to model the Conſtitution of their Country to their own fantaſtic Whim, ſuch Endeavours deſerve no Cenſure, they may in time produce good Laws, and good Effects. —But when Men pretend to dictate to the Legiſlature, and impudently preach and juſtify Rebellion, if they meet with Contradiction, Government muſt anſwer ſternly to ſuch importunate Demands:—While ſuch a Temper continues, it is dangerous to grant any thing, one ſuch Precedent will beget a thouſand, and is ſufficient to overthrow the beſt eſtabliſhed Conſtitution upon Earth: When it ſhall ſubſide ſo far, that the People ſeem to be capable of Contentment, upon moderate Conceſſions, that Man is diſhoneſt, who will not exert himſelf to procure for them all that is fair, juſt, and prudent.—But till then, he muſt be mad, or worſe, who will yield one ſingle Point, which they never receive with Gratitude, but attribute always to themſelves, and conſider, as extorted by Force, an Evidence of their own Power, an Imbecillity in Government, and an Encouragement to all Intemperance.

When ſuch was the Caſe of this Country, when Men of the moſt infamous and factious Views, began to unmaſk, and ſhew themſelves without the leaſt Reſerve, when Treaſon was become a public Topic of Diſcourſe, when all Decency, Order, and Subordination, was in a manner deſtroyed, and the Populace indiſcriminately treated every Character of Dignity, Worth, and Honour with an outragious Inſolence and Contempt.—Had it been the Part of Patriotiſm to have ſtood out longer, to have further aggravated and inflamed this Extravagance, which threatened the Diſſolution of Government itſelf in all its Parts?

When it was manifeſt, that there was a Party, whom nothing could content but the Ruin of the preſent Family upon the Throne, and who would have ſtill continued to oppoſe, let what Changes ſoever have been made.—When by the moſt flagrant Inſtances of Paſſion, Faction, wicked Principles, both Republican and Jacobite, private Corruption, and an utter Diſregard of the Publick, were become thus manifeſt: when even popular Laws, as the Place-Bill, and the Rectification of all our Foreign Meaſures were oppoſed; when nothing but tearing the Government down, the Conſtitution up

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by the Roots, putting the Adminiſtration of all our Affairs into the Hands of the moſt violent and dangerous Men, when no Time was given to effect any thing; but in the very firſt Week of the Change, a few Men diſappointed of Places, which they had carved out for themſelves, had raiſed the Inflammation to a higher Point than ever, when the Effect of their Labours upon the People had diſcovered what a deſperate Temper they were in, when, in order to gain them to their Side, they had pawned, as it were, their Honour, *if they acquired Power* to yield every thing that the moſt violent deſired,—— when, if this Compromiſe with them had been afterwards *broken*, the Nation muſt have fallen into worſe Confuſion; and if the Compromiſe were *kept*, the Government and Conſtitution muſt have been ſubverted,—when they had openly drawn the Sword, and avowed Revenge, againſt thoſe Leaders who had wrought the Change, could thoſe Leaders have ſtood out till theſe Men were ſatisfied, could they have reſigned their Station, relied again upon theſe People, or entertained any Hopes, that the Union broken, by the Violence of theſe Men, could have been reſtored again, or could they have had any Proſpect with this diſunited Body, to have prevented the Return of the former Miniſter?

When by this mad, inconſiſtent and wretched Conduct the honeſt Leaders of the former Oppoſition were in ſo great a degree diſarmed of Power to do all the Good they wiſhed to the Publick, or the Service they intended to their Friends; was it not wiſe and honeſt to make the beſt Uſe, that they could of this Conjuncture? When the Madneſs of others prevented their making it better, was it not for the Intereſt of their Country to act in ſuch a way; as to keep out the former Miniſter, and to employ the Influence of their new Stations equally to prevent the Continuance of the old Meaſures, and to prevent the pernicious Deſigns of a dangerous *Faction* in this unworthy Manner labouring to come in?—Were they not juſtified to join with thoſe, who (upon various Motives, ſome from Error, ſome from Shame, ſome from the Difficulty of quitting the Party, with which they had been ſo long engaged, ſome from a miſtaken Principle of Gratitude, and falſe Notion of Honour, nay, ſuppoſe ſome from Corruption itſelf,) though they had done wrong before, were now ready and willing to change their Conduct, to rectify Miſtakes, and to purſue thoſe very Meaſures, which were abſolutely neceſſary, right in themſelves, which had been the declared View of all honeſt Men till that Moment, and had been loudly called for ſo many Years by the whole People? No worthy Man will deny that they were

were not juſtified in this Conduct; no Man of Senſe can deny but that they did both honeſtly and greatly in what they did; *Cunctando reſtituerunt rem, non enim ponebant rumores ante ſalutem:* And by this temperate and ſteady Behaviour under all theſe galling Difficulties, of Inſult, Clamour and unjuſt Reproach, they maintained ſo much Credit in deſpight of thoſe, who laboured to deſtroy it, that they changed the whole Spirit and Conduct of the Adminiſtration.

The Conſequences of their vigorous Proceeding, quickly ſhewed itſelf in a wonderful degree; the Face of Affairs turned in a moſt merciful and happy Manner, beyond the moſt ſanguine Hope and Expectation of Mankind: The King of *Pruſſia* and the Queen of *Hungary* were brought to Terms; the one to quit his Confederacy with *France*; the other to yield a Part of her Rights to induce him to it; the firſt manifeſtly from an Apprehenſion of the Iſſue of the Conteſt, which grew precarious upon the Exertion of the *Britiſh* Power; the other in a Confidence of future Support from this Nation, in Return for an extraordinary Conceſſion. The *Auſtrian* Armies ravaged, plundered and became entirely Maſters of *Bavaria*, carrying the War into the Countries, and ſuſtaining themſelves at the Expence of the Enemy: Animated by the Proſpect of further Aſſiſtance from *Great Britain*, and depending in conſequence upon that of the *Dutch*, (whoſe Armies were actually augmented by 30,000 Men, and who begun in proportion as they ſaw they could confide in our Councils, to withdraw their Deference from *France*) they exerted themſelves with a Bravery and Spirit, which carried every thing before it; the Supplies we had given the Court of *Vienna* enabled her, beſides leaving 20,000 regular Troops in *Flanders*, to take the Field with three Armies; one in *Bohemia*, another in *Bavaria*, and a third in *Italy*; which laſt, in Conjunction with a Body of *Sardinian* Forces, were ſufficient to make Head againſt a numerous Army of *Spaniards* in that Country; the farther Supply given the King of *Sardinia* enabled him not only to form that Army laſt mentioned, but to compoſe another; at the Head of which, with infinite Hazard to his Perſon, infinite Hardſhip and Fatigue, he defended his Dutchy of *Savoy* during the whole Summer, and the greater Part of a long Winter's Campaign againſt another great and well-appointed Army of *Spaniards* headed by a Prince of *Spain*, and in ſpight of all their Efforts, in which their beſt Troops and immenſe Sums were waſted, has to this Hour barr'd their Paſſage into *Italy*; nor was this all, for by a ſtrong Fleet of Men of War in the *Mediterranean* and a proper Uſe of it, we ſtruck ſuch Ter-

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ror, that the Court of *Naples* was obliged to agree to a Neutrality, and prevented an Army of 40,000 Men from ſuccouring the Troops of *Spain*, which in the firſt Place, ſaved the Loſs of the Ballance in *Italy*; in the ſecond, proved the Ruin of the *Spaniſh* Army there: in the third, laid thoſe Seeds of Diſcontent between the *Spaniſh* Court and that of *Naples*, (the former thinking it the ſtrongeſt Inſtance of Ingratitude, to be deſerted in this Extremity, by their own Son, who was ſo lately raiſed to that Dignity ſolely by the Expence of the Blood and Treaſure of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy) as will probably never be removed, and may be the Foundation of great Advantage to us hereafter; in the fourth Place, it has diſcoverd to us, of what Weight we may hereafter be in that Part of *Europe* in a higher degree than ever we knew it; in the fifth, it has been the moſt ſevere Revenge, and was the moſt complete Method to diſtreſs the Court of *Spain*: For in a War with that Power, we could not have waſted her Treaſure, and ruined her Reputation, in an equal Degree, or deſtroyed ſo many of her Troops in twenty Years, by any other Means, with this farther Advantage, that we rendered the Adminiſtration of the Queen intolerable to her Subjects, who were thus oppreſſed with Taxes, and drained of all their Men and Money to gratify ambitious Views, attended with theſe aggravating Circumſtances, that they brought not only Ruin, but Diſgrace and Scandal upon their Arms in every Inſtance: To this was joined an almoſt total Interruption of their Trade, and their Returns of Money from the *Indies*, which, as faſt as their inexpreſſible Neceſſities obliged them to be made, were, in very many Inſtances, intercepted by the Vigour and Diligence of the Navy ſtationed, commanded and directed by the new Admiralty; which Gains, if fairly accounted for, not only ballanced all the Loſſes, that our Merchants have ſuſtained (notwithſtanding the Number of their Privateers and the Extent of our Commerce) ſince the Time of the late Change, but have gone far to wipe off thoſe Scores, which had been run up againſt them, by the Neglect and imprudent Conduct of the former Adminiſtration.

It could now be ſaid no longer, that our Hands were tied by Fear, by Corruption, or by neutral Engagements.—We rode triumphant on the Ocean, our proper Element,—we confined the whole *French* and *Spaniſh* Fleets, who, tho' combined, dared not venture to oppoſe us, while we employed but a Part of ours to do not only this, but to keep *Naples* to its Neutrality, to inſult their Ports, and barr their Privateers from iſſuing in any Numbers from the reſt.—We reſtored the Honour of our Flag, and now returned the Inſolence of *France*, whom we treated

treated with the ſame Contempt, with which ſhe, for many Years, had treated us.—We burnt the Ships of *her* Allies, and *our* Enemies, in her very Ports, we ſearched and rummaged almoſt every Veſſel ſhe put to Sea.—Our Fleets ſailed from *Jamaica* with an avowed Deſign to attack, ſink, burn, and deſtroy the Squadrons ſhe ſent into thoſe Parts; and ſhe knows the Orders of our Admirals, to ſink, burn, and deſtroy, any other Fleet ſhe ſhall venture to ſend out again; yet ſhe has been obliged to pocket every one of theſe Affronts: If our Naval Dignity is not reſtored by theſe Actions, what can reſtore it? and if theſe Things cannot be denied to be true, as they cannot be, what Impudence, and what Wickedneſs muſt it be to villify the preſent Government, to poiſon and deceive the ignorant and unwary Multitude, with a perpetual Din, of the low contemptible Condition to which we are ſaid to be reduced? It is a Shame to ſuffer ourſelves to be abuſed in this groſs Manner; the Leaders of the *Faction* themſelves laugh at the Folly and Deluſion of the People, that they have fooled to ſuch a Point. They even now deſpiſe thoſe Wretches who are thus ſeduced, they themſelves loath and deteſt the ſeditious Tools of which they now make their Uſe, and when they have ſerved their Turn, will aſſuredly turn their Backs upon them: But let me return to ſay one Word more upon our Conduct with Regard to *France*:—Let any Man look back upon the inſolent and imperious Treatment, which towards the Cloſe of the laſt Adminiſtration we received from that Power. Let him then conſider what we have ſince done, and let him anſwer, if he can, whether this Nation has received no Benefit by the late Change.—*France* has found, and proclaims it by her Conduct, whatever *we* may ſtupidly and ungratefully do at Home, that ſhe trembles at the Power and the Meaſures of this Nation. If publick Contempt be publick Weakneſs, as it is with Nations known to be; what Applauſe is due to thoſe, who have ſhifted that Contempt from themſelves, and caſt it upon the Enemy, and who have conſequently procured that Weakneſs to *France*, which the former Miniſter had by twenty Years tame Adminiſtration with Pains procured for us; if there be any Senſe left in this Nation, they muſt ſee all this; if there be any Honeſty, they will confeſs it, let their private Views or Diſappointments be what they will; if there be any Warmth of Heart, Love, or Regard, for the Honour, the Dignity, the Safety and Well-being of our Country, they will proclaim it in deſpight of Faction, popular Ferment, or any private Danger. The Maxim of *Tacitus*, however applied by him, will hold true with every State, *Majus famâ potentiæ quam*

quam ſua vi nixa : Great as the Power of *France* may be, it is the Fame, the Opinion of that Power, that has ſo long ſupported her in her ambitious Views, enabled her to trample upon the Rights and Liberties of all *Europe*, and to ſport with the moſt ſacred Ties of Truth and Faith of Treaties ; it is this, that encouraged her, after ſo many ſolemn Declarations in the laſt *German* War, *that ſhe would acquire nothing*, to graſp that mighty Acquiſition of *Lorrain* ; it was this, that induced her, in that perfidious manner, to violate her Engagements to the *Pragmatic Sanction*, which were the Condition of that Acquiſition ; it was this that terrified every Potentate in *Europe* into a Submiſſion to all her Indignities, and into Non-Reſiſtance under the Yoke ſhe has impoſed ſo long upon many Nations, and under the Proſpect of the Chains ſhe was forging for all the *European* World. Is it not therefore a mighty Point, gained by this Nation, in the ſpace of little more than one Year, to have reduced that over-bearing Power into this deficient State of Credit, and to have reſtored that Credit to ourſelves, which was ſo totally loſt ?—It is not an empty Vanity, but a ſolid Benefit.—Can any Thing tend more, hereafter, to lighten the Expence of future Struggles for the Liberty of *Europe*, than this Reduction of the Credit of that Nation, and this Reſtoration of our own ? Can any thing prevent ſo much the Occaſion of taking up Arms, as that Diſcovery, which will induce all the Powers in *Europe* to be leſs afraid to do it againſt *France ?* And can any thing give ſo great Weight to our Negociations without Recourſe to the Sword, as the general Opinion, that whenever we draw it, we are able to curb that Power? This Conduct viſibly muſt have this fortunate Effect, that if it be unhappy for us to be reduced to the Neceſſity of engaging in Land-Wars upon the Continent, it will render that Neceſſity leſs frequent ; if the Greatneſs of the Expence is grievous, and drains us of our Specie, it muſt make it leſs in future, as it muſt ſecure us more ready Aſſiſtance and ſtronger Alliances, than if we wanted that *Fama potentiæ*, and that *Opinion*, which by the Providence of God, and the Conduct of our Affairs has been now reſtored again.

Thus, we have undeceived the World as to the Power of *France* ; not *that it is not great*, which would be deluſive ; but that it is not *omnipotent and irreſiſtible :* And thus we have in a ſhort time gone far, not only to reſtore Things reduced both at Home and Abroad to an almoſt deſperate Condition, but even turned the Errors of the former Adminiſtration to Advantage ; which is viſible in the higheſt Degree, by the Effects

of our Meaſures in the *Mediterranean* already mentioned.—Without all doubt, one of the moſt fatal and unhappy Steps of the late Adminiſtration ſeems to have been the neutral Conduct there (though whether, all Things conſidered, it was avoidable, is not perhaps ſo eaſily determined) by which the *Spaniſh* Armies were enabled to be landed ſafely in a Time of War, in Sight of our Squadrons, in *Italy*; and to form a Junction with the *French:* yet by the Vigilance ſince, the Neutrality of *Naples*, and the driving both Fleets into one Pound, we have encloſed all the Land-Forces of *Spain* far from Home, and in great Meaſure out of the Reach of Recruits, Neceſſaries and Supplies; and we have our Padlock upon the greater Part of the Maritime Force of thoſe two Powers, which would have haraſſed us exceedingly had they been in different Parts; kept us in perpetual Alarms, diſtreſſed our Trade; and ſo divided our naval Force, that notwithſtanding our Superiority at Sea, we ſhould have ſuffered many Inconveniences, nay, even Danger from them, to our own Coaſts, and ſome of our Settlements abroad.—It will yet have a farther Effect, it diſpirits and brings down the haughty Spirit of that People, who are ever preſſing for War, it diſcontents them with their own Adminiſtration; and if we can do it as effectually as their former Conduct has done it by us, *there need not be a greater Curſe upon that Government, a greater Plague, a greater Obſtruction to their Views, nor a ſurer Way to bring them to their Ruin.*

By the Advantage that we have made of our Fleets in thoſe Seas, we have derived another great Advantage, for by temporiſing with the King of *Naples*, we have ſecured the Elector of *Saxony* and King of *Poland*, who, beſides the Hazard of his own Dominions, has, by his Alliance with *that Prince*, his Intereſt to conſider too, and who may be juſtly ſuppoſed to ſuffer ſome Weight in the Scale of his Determination, from a Reflection of the Condition to which his Daughter might be reduced, by any Raſhneſs he might be guilty of, in this Conjuncture.

By theſe providential Succeſſes, which all the vile Sarcaſms of Faction can never prevail, to have attributed to any other Cauſe than the manifeſt Revival of the *Britiſh* Spirit, directed, as it now is, the *French* were every where ſo foiled, that the *Auſtrians* were enabled to act upon the offenſive, and to beſiege *Prague*, where they confined no leſs than 24,000 of the beſt Troops of *France* for the whole Summer, with two Mareſchals of *France*, and prevented them with the reſt of their broken Army, from receiving any Supplies, or from doing any conſiderable

derable Mischief,—till, by the Necessities into which they were at length brought, the Court of *France* was compelled to withdraw the Army under the Command of the Marshal *Maillebois*, from the Circle of *Westphalia*, where 35,000 of their Troops had been employed to awe the Electorate of *Hanover* and the *Dutch* at the same time. This was one of the first Steps they took in the Beginning of their Attempts on *Germany*, and one of the wisest, as the Consequences of their Inability to continue it, have fully shewn.—By this they effected three great Ends; they diverted all the *Hanoverian* Forces from the Assistance of the general Cause; they awed the *Dutch*; they prevented the Conjunction of the Troops of *England*, and of *Austria*, in the *Low-Countries*, with those of *Hanover*, and those of both the former with the *Dutch*.—*Hanover* was obliged in Prudence, for the common Good and Safety of the *Allies*, to consent to a temporary Neutrality; for if they had hazarded the Event of War, (inferior, as they were, in Number) and if they had been defeated, that Body of Troops, which, as we have since seen, were intended to more important Purposes, had not only totally been rendered useless; but there could have been no Possibility of composing afterwards that grand Army which was necessary to be composed, if we effectually intended to assist the Queen of *Hungary*, and to deal roundly with *France*, and which has been since composed, notwithstanding the positive Assertion of the *Faction*, *that it could never be*, to whom the Devil has owed a Shame, and has fairly paid them, by giving them the Lye in every one Point that they have advanced.

This Neutrality of *Hanover* having made so great a Noise, I must have Leave to enlarge a little farther on this Subject; (for though my present Purpose is not to defend the Measures of any Time antecedent to the late Change, it is honest to do Justice to every Man, and not at all necessary to add more Errors than are due to the former Administration.) To speak fairly of it, however maliciously it has been made the Matter of Ridicule, it was the only Step that in that Circumstance could have been taken with any Judgment or Discretion, from this known and general Principle, that you should never risque a Division of your Forces, if you can avoid it.—The Court of *England* considered the *Austrians*, *Hessians*, and the *English* in the *Netherlands*, together with the *Hanoverian* Troops, as one Army, dispersed in remote Quarters, but intended to be assembled, and to act together when conjoined; they were then capable of making a formidable Army, and might be able to act or undertake any Thing, and we had great Reason to believe, and

received the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances from the Leading Men in *Holland*, that when it was aſſembled, they would concur with a large additional Body of *Dutch* Troops;—if therefore the *Hanoverians* had acted ſingly, and been defeated ſingly, the other divided Corps of Troops had been of very little Uſe, (as we have juſt now obſerved) and might have followed their Fate. But a farther certain, and yet more fatal Event muſt have followed from it: The *Dutch* Miniſtry would have never been able to have procured the Aſſent of the States, or to have engaged them in a Cauſe ſo hopeleſs, as it would have then appeared, when the Electorate of *Hanover* ſhould have been reduced into the ſame Condition with *Bavaria*, and have proved the ſame Acceſſion of Strength to the *French*, that the other Electorate now affords to the Queen of *Hungary*. This might very poſſibly have been the Caſe; and any Man, who has not been thoroughly drench'd with the Poiſon of the Times, muſt be ſenſible, how ruinous ſuch an Incident muſt have been, independent of any private Regard for thoſe Dominions, to the common Cauſe of *Europe*.—Whoever is the leaſt converſant in publick Affairs, or has even common Senſe, muſt be able to judge of theſe Reaſons, which were rendered infinitely ſtronger by this Circumſtance, that they actually did, by their Neutrality all that time, afford the Houſe of *Auſtria* a moſt material Aſſiſtance, depriving the *French* and the *Bavarians* of ſo great a Force,—to which, under God, was owing the Preſervation of the Houſe of *Auſtria*; for by this means the happy Turn was effected in *Bavaria*, and that Superiority acquired to the Arms of the Queen of *Hungary*, which, had this Neutrality been never made, and had this Body of Troops been joined to the *French* and *Imperial* Armies in *Bavaria* and *Bohemia*, could have never happened, and they muſt in all probability have ruined her in one Campaign.—While the twenty-ſix or twenty-eight thouſand *Hanoverians* were upon their own ground, they were a Match in the defenſive Part for a greater Number; but if drawn from thence, they had been equal only to the Numbers, of which they actually did conſiſt themſelves.

So long therefore as the *French* continued upon the Confines of the Electorate of *Hanover*, there was neither Prudence or Neceſſity to act any other than a neutral Part; for by their Situation, and the Advantage of their own Country, it is demonſtrable, that twenty-eight thouſand anſwered the End of an actual Aid to the Queen of *Hungary* of 35,000 Men.

But when the reduced Condition of the *French* obliged them to quit this Meaſure, it was neceſſary for us to change our Plan—

the

the *Hanoverian* Troops, had they remained in the Electorate, were then of no longer Uſe. In ſuch a Conjuncture, no honeſt Man in *Britain* would have wiſhed, that ſo great a Body of the beſt Troops in *Europe*, which by good Fortune were under the Influence of this Nation, ſhould be unemploy'd.—The Queſtion therefore was, in what way they might be moſt advantageouſly employ'd,—ſome imagined, that it had been proper to have followed the *French* Army, and the wiſe Politicians of the *Faction* bellowed loudly againſt this Neglect of Policy, as they pretended it to be; but many invincible Reaſons oppoſed themſelves to this Advice; ſome time muſt have neceſſarily been ſpent in ſettling a Point, which was of ſo nice a Nature, both in our own Councils, and in thoſe of the Imperial Court;—and by that time (tho' it was very ſhort) the *French* Army had got a great way upon their intended March.—It was to be conſidered again, that the *Hanoverian* Troops could by no means follow with the ſame Expedition, that the others went;—they had no Magazines, the *French* had exhauſted the Proviſions, and though they had paſſed through the ſame Country, when freſh and unannoyed, yet even they, from want of previous Preparations, ſuffered much in their March, and dwindled greatly;—how much therefore more muſt thoſe, who trod the ſame Ground after them, have ſuffered; how much muſt they have been delayed? The Seaſon of the Year began to be advanced, and the Summer muſt have been conſumed, before they could have reached the Enemy; who in all Probability muſt have effected (if it was to be effected) whatever they could have propoſed, before we could have come up with them.—Again, if the Enemy upon the Purſuit of the *Hanoverians* had turned ſhort upon them, and waited in ſome ſtrong Poſt, they might have engaged them to great Diſadvantage, being ſuperior in Number;—and they might have obliged them to ſtay and face them in a Country, that they had left behind them ruined;—they had the ſtrong Town of *Egra* to befriend them, which the *Hanoverians* could not have neglected, nor have taken.—Thus the Effect of their March would have probably been fatal to that Body of Troops, who muſt at beſt have wintered far from home, in a ruined Country, liable to all the Inconvenience of a Winter's Campaign, and we ſhould have put ourſelves with a much ſmaller Force, and in a much more helpleſs Condition, near our Enemies, to have endured yet greater Hardſhips, than thoſe, by which even their great Armies, inured by two Campaigns, and much better provided for the Event, have been in a manner mouldered into nothing.—Yet even this Riſque would have been run, if it had been inſiſted upon by the

Auſtrian

Auſtrian Miniſters, with whom we acted with the ſtricteſt Harmony.—We laid before them all theſe Ill-conveniencies, and the irretrievable Prejudice that an Accident to this Body of Troops muſt have occaſioned in the next Year's Operations.—The Impoſſibility in that Caſe, of bringing into the Field, or forming a ſufficient Army, to deal with that Force, that might be brought againſt us by the *French*:—That our *Engliſh* Troops, (which were not even then all landed) and the *Auſtrians*, in the *Netherlands*, were too remote to join the *Hanoverians* in any reaſonable Time, had they ſet out upon that March immediately; that they were not yet accuſtomed and hardened to the Fatigues of War, and muſt therefore have been intirely ruined by ſuch a March, at ſuch a Diſtance, and at ſuch a Seaſon of the Year; that if it were poſſible, by the Means of the difficult Paſſes in the Mountains of *Bohemia*, by withdrawing the Troops from *Prague*, (leaving a ſufficient Number to form a diſtant Blockade, and to diſtreſs the Garriſon,) to prevent the Junction of the two *French* Armies, *Prague* muſt fall of courſe, the *French* muſt be diſheartened and confounded by their Diſappointment, and both their Armies ſuffer terribly, as they always did in the following Winter; while the Armies of the Allies united, much more numerous, ſtrong and vigorous, might enter into Action freſh, and with infinite Weight in the enſuing Spring.—Theſe Reaſons had their juſt Effect, they were proved ſolid by the Event.—The *Engliſh* Councils directed the *Auſtrian* Operations upon this Occaſion, and they felt the happy Conſequence.—The Army of *Maillebois* never could penetrate through the Paſſes of *Bohemia*; but there involved, were miſerably butchered and deſtroyed, by Sword and Famine;—while the Garriſon of *Prague* were reduced in prodigious Numbers, by vain Attempts to eſcape, their Parties continually cut off, and their Proviſions and Supplies ſo effectually obſtructed, that they were at length neceſſitated in the ſevereſt Seaſon of that cold Climate, and after the moſt inſufferable Hardſhips, to abandon the Capital of *Bohemia*, and the whole Country, to their lawful Sovereign, (excepting *Egra*, on the extreme Borders of it,) bringing off with them not 10,000 Effective Men, the miſerable Remains of at leaſt 30,000, who had triumphed in that Country in the Beginning of that Year.—But upon their Arrival, Diſeaſes broke in upon them, and ſwept off ſo many, even of that ſmall Number, and of the Army ſent to bring them off, that they could not remain there, and muſt have periſhed for Want, if they had been ſtill harraſſed by the *Auſtrians*.—In fine, they were reduced to ſuch Diſtreſs, by a Series of Calamities, that leſt it might be ſaid, of *two great Armies*, amounting together to more than 70,000 Men, not one ſhould live to return, the *French* Court recalled

recalled their ſhattered *Remains*, and of *both*, not more than 20,000 Men had the Felicity to ſee their Native Soil again; where the few that ſurvived the incredible Fatigues they had ſuſtained, brought back, rather Weakneſs to their *Maſter*, than Security to his *Frontier*, filling his wretched Subjects with Grief, Dejection of Spirit, Deteſtation of the Views of their ambitious Monarch, and Terror of the Miſeries they have endured; which every Man, capable of bearing Arms, by the abſolute Power of their Government, and the Diſtreſs of their Affairs, ſees himſelf likewiſe hourly in Danger to undergo.

Thus far we have obſerved how much Folly, Ignorance and Villany have concurred to miſrepreſent two important Points; the Neutrality of *Hanover*, and the Conduct of our New Councils in not marching after *Maillebois*'s Army: To proſecute this Deduction of our Affairs during the laſt Interval of Parliament, we come now to ſhew the Part acted by our Adminiſtration upon the Removal of that Army. The Deliberations we have mentioned took up no more, as I remember, than three Weeks; and the Point being agreed between the Miniſtry of *Auſtria*, and our own, *that the* Hanoverian *Forces ſhould not follow*, the next Step was obvious: If our own Reaſon could not have ſhewn it to us, it was dictated and pointed out by *France*; it was evident, as we have before obſerved, that the View of *France* in ſending her Armies to the Frontiers of that Electorate was no other than to prevent the Junction of the *Hanoverian*, *Dutch*, *Britiſh* and *Auſtrian* Forces: if that was ſo favourite a View, that ſhe put herſelf to ſo vaſt a Charge for it, opiniatred that View ſo long, and ſubmitted to all the Ill-Convenience of weakening her Armies in every other Part for it; would it have been excuſeable in us not to have profited by ſuch a Leſſon, and to have loſt the Opportunity, which the Abſence of that Army gave to form the neceſſary Conjunction of all our Forces;—the only Perſon, who could have Reaſon to demur upon the Point was the Elector of *Hanover* himſelf; who by detaching ſuch a Body of his Troops, and breaking his Neutrality, left his Country expoſed to ſome Hazard, that if the former Troops ſhould change their Deſtination, or ſucceed in their Attempt, they might return to take a ſevere Revenge upon his Dominions with Impunity: When therefore his Majeſty agreed to this Propoſition, the Miniſters of *England* could not have anſwered it to their Country, if they had not availed themſelves of this Body of his Forces.

They therefore took 16,000 of theſe Troops into the *Britiſh* Pay; not, as it has been maliciouſly inſinuated, in a Method contrary to the Conſtitution, and unknown before; but in a Method

Method warranted by all former Examples both in the Reign of King *William* and Queen *Anne*, when in the Interval of Parliament it became neceſſary from any Event to hire Foreign Forces, the Buſineſs was concerted by the Crown, the Treaty for the Subſidy agreed, and the Eſtimates referred to Parliamet; where the Liberty ſtill remained entire to reject them: The ſame Method was purſued in this Inſtance, the Parliament had the Eſtimates laid before them, and might have refuſed to confirm the Meaſure, if it had appeared to them improper or unjuſt; ſo that of all the Debates that ever paſs'd in Parliament, none ever violated more the Heart of every fair and honeſt Man, than that with relation to theſe Troops; in which this Point was with equal Confidence and Malice urged to the moſt indecent Extremity, in Defiance of all Truth and Candour, and with a manifeſt View to impoſe upon the Underſtanding of Mankind; there was not a Man of the leaſt Experience, who did not know that this was a Part of the known Prerogative exerciſed in innumerable Inſtances, and a Prerogative not like ſome others, which may be thought to have been a Relique of bad Times in Government, when the Conſtitution was leſs pure; or crept gradually in, when the Power of the Crown was ſtrained too far, but a Prerogative founded upon the ſupreme Law of all Neceſſity, without which no Government could ſtand ſecure one Hour: for what muſt be the Condition of this Country, if in no Dilemma, no Exigence whatſoever, (and ſurely none was ever greater than that of which we are now ſpeaking) during the Interval of Parliament, the Crown might exerciſe a Power of this Nature? What Opportunities in the moſt critical Conjunctures might be loſt? What Ruin muſt our Armies be expoſed to, in caſe of any ſignal Defeat abroad? But it is a Point too obvious to be longer inſiſted upon, and the Abſurdity of denying it is equalled by nothing, but that of debating *one whole Day* to prove *a Meaſure illegal* and *unparliamentary*, and to condemn it becauſe it had not the *Authority of Parliament*, which was *that very* Day ſubmitted to the Judgment and Power of the Houſe *whether it ſhould be a Meaſure at all or no.*

But to ſhew farther how tender his Majeſty was of exerting his Prerogative, beyond what the Neceſſity of our Situation required, his Majeſty hinted it to his Parliament at the Cloſe of the antecedent Seſſions.—After ſpeaking of the Supplies which had been already granted, *for the Support of the Queen of* Hungary, *and to reſtore and ſecure the Balance of Power, ſo particularly recommended by his Parliament*; he added farther, *And if it ſhould become neceſſary for me to contract new Engagements, or to enter into farther Meaſures, I rely upon your Zeal and Perſeverance in ſo juſt a Cauſe, to make them good.*

When

When the Prince foreſees that an Exigency may poſſibly ariſe, at a Period of Time in which he cannot poſſibly take the Council of his Parliament.—If in ſuch an Exigency the Nature and the Practice of the Government permits him freely to take what Meaſures he may judge neceſſary for the Intereſts of his People, without any Form or previous Notice whatſoever, if yet that Prince reminds his Parliament of ſuch a poſſible Contingency, as far as the Nature of the Thing can poſſibly admit, inſtead of a Stretch of Prerogative, it muſt appear, to every candid Man, the ſtrongeſt Mark of Tenderneſs to the Privileges of his People, a manifeſt Inclination to decline the exerciſe of his Prerogative, and in fact, the greateſt Condeſcenſion.—There is no Man of Candour, who will conſider this, but muſt ſee, that the moſt open, moſt frank, moſt generous, and moſt reſpectful Conduct, next to the direct Requeſt, *to be permitted to take the Meaſure*, was *to hint it to the Parliament, that it was intended to be taken.*

Now, that his Majeſty could not lay this Scheme before his Parliament, or open his Deſign more directly than he did at that Time, is proved by the ſtubborn Evidence of Facts and Dates, which though miſrepreſented by the *Faction* upon every Turn, and concealed, when they do not ſerve their Purpoſe, cannot be totally denied.—It is confeſs'd, that this Meaſure might have been, in all Probability, intended before the Diſſolution of the Parliament.—But could it be then reſolved? In the Nature of the Thing, it could not, becauſe it was a Contingency, which could only happen if the *French* Army marched;—it may be ſaid, that ſome Steps had been already made by *France*, that convinced the King and the Adminiſtration, that they intended to march;—and if not, it is probable his Majeſty would not have touched at all upon it.—But theſe Steps might have been only taken as a Feint, at leaſt Accidents might have intervened to prevent the Execution of that Project.—Unleſs therefore his Majeſty had been not only King of *Great Britain*, and Elector of *Hanover*, but King of *France* at the ſame Time, he could not have told his Parliament, that his Electoral Troops ſhould march to join the National Troops of *England*, when this Meaſure depended upon an Event which was not in his Power, and which actually did not happen in a conſiderable Time, the Parliament riſing upon the 15th of *July*,* and the March of the *French* Troops not having taken Effect till ſeveral Weeks after. As therefore it was impoſſible to have communicated that as a *poſitive Meaſure*, which in its Nature

* The *French* Army did not march from *Frankfort* towards *Bohemia*, till the 30th of *Auguſt*.

could not be then reſolved, ſo muſt it have been an Abſurdity, viſible to all Mankind, to have told the Parliament, *eventually*, which was the ſame thing as to have told *France*, and all the World, what we intended to do in caſe they marched.—The Politicks of theſe Times are of a very extraordinary Nature, when the Government is not only preſſed, from Day to Day, to diſcover, by Motions for Papers, every ſecret Tranſaction, every Negotiation, and Plan of Operations, even while they are ſtill depending; but when we are to foreſtall the Meaſures of our Enemies, and to tell them, *Gentlemen, take Care what you do—if you do ſo, we will do ſo,—if you march from* Hanover, *we will certainly uſe that Opportunity to unite our Forces as ſoon as poſſible after you are gone.*

The Prudence of the Adminiſtration appeared likewiſe in the *Time*, the *Place* to which they marched, and in the *Nature* of this Bargain.—As to the *Time*, it had been Madneſs to have ſlipped this Opportunity, to form our Army, which might have afterwards been impoſſible; had we deferred it till the Spring, as ſome have taken great Pains to perſuade the People we ſhould have done, *France* might have taken ſuch Meaſures, or ſuch Events might have happened, as would have rendered it then impracticable;—again, (which would have been a Matter very near as fatal in its Conſeqence) the World might have been convinced, that it was never intended to be done at all; it was of the laſt Importance to ſhew the *Dutch* a powerful Support to induce them to engage as ſoon as poſſible. As to the *Place*, another Point of Importance was to give the *French* Alarms upon their own Frontier, to prevent their ſending any farther Force to *Germany*, or to prevent their aſſiſting the Infant Don *Philip*, who was already very ſuperior to the King of *Sardinia*, for which our National Troops were by no means alone ſufficient: And it had its Effect; the Letters of *Van Hoey* ſhew, that *France* did not ſlight thoſe Meaſures, which our own People ridiculed. They have ſince diſcovered what the *Dutch then thought*, and what the *Dutch* have now *publickly declared*.—The *French* encreaſed their Troops in *Flanders* with all the regular Troops they could draw together, and much of the Militia from the remoteſt Part of their Dominions; they ſent but faint and inſufficient Succours into *Germany*, and none at all to the *Spaniſh* Army.—By the March of theſe Troops into *Flanders*, we had therefore viſibly theſe ſeveral Advantages.—Firſt, That they were a great Encouragement to *Holland*.—Secondly, That they were a Security to the *Barrier*, and to the *Netherlands* in all Events.—Thirdly, That they created the moſt diſtant Diverſion that could be made.—Fourthly, That, as far as poſſible, they

they prevented the Neceſſity of a Rupture, becauſe *France* would not probably attempt to attack us there, unleſs compelled to it, as long as the *Dutch* had not yet acceeded, and was yet obliged to prepare and arm in the ſame Degree, as not knowing how ſuddenly they might take the Reſolution, which they were then *inclined to*, and have ſince *reſolved*; whereas if they had marched to the *Rhine*, where, as others of our wiſe Politicians have for the only Alternative ſuggeſted, that they ſhould have gone afterwards, *France* would have been induced, either by Neceſſity, or Prudence, to have attacked us there, when only half our Force had been aſſembled, and at leaſt we had been engaged precipitately in that Extremity, while there was yet a Poſſibility, that the Difficulties of the *French*, and Encreaſe of our Ability and Succeſs might have brought about a Termination to theſe Troubles. We reaped another Advantage from the good Quarters in thoſe Provinces, which kept our Troops in better Health, and in more Convenience; being in a plentiful Country, and in that of an Ally; whereas we could have quartered no where elſe, without the greateſt Inconvenience.—We were there equally ready (conſidering the Seaſon of the Year) to perform any Service that the preſent or future Exigencies ſhould require; beſides the Difference of being united near to our own Country, where Supplies could be furniſhed with more Eaſe and Expedition; and where all the Money, that was conſumed, contributed, though indirectly, to aſſiſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*; as it enriched her Provinces, and enabled them to pay more punctually, and to furniſh greater Sums to their Sovereign's Aid: Laſtly, it enabled us to amuſe the *French*, and gave us an Opportunity to pretend a Deſign on *Dunkirk*; which drew down a great Body of their Troops to the very greateſt Diſtance, from whence they could annoy the Enemy: A Point ſo artfully conducted, that every other Power were ſerious at it but our own People.

As to the *Nature of the Bargain*, much has been ſaid upon this Head, to prove it not only *bad*, but *criminal* in the higheſt Degree. In order to the ſetting this Matter in a clear Light, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that during the long War of 1702, great Numbers of Foreign Forces having been hired, the Method then purſued, and the Conditions then obſerved, have been the Rule by which we have gone ever ſince; our ſubſidiary Treaties therefore run all upon the ſame Plan, and contain the ſame Conditions, that they did then; (excepting in two or three Articles of a trivial Nature, which the Change of the univerſal Diſcipline and a particular Circumſtance made it neceſſary to differ in, as we ſhall have Occaſion to ſpecify

after.) This Expence is conſtantly ſummed up in *three* Articles,—That of *Levy-Money* for the furniſhing and compleating both Horſe and Foot, that of the *Pay* of the Forces, and that of an *annual Subſidy* beſides, in a certain Proportion, according to the Number of the Troops; theſe three Articles of *Levy-Money*, the *Pay of the Forces*, and the *Subſidy to the Prince*, make the general Charge common to all the Forces, that we have hired for a Space of above forty Years:—This is the Bill always brought us in for mercenary Troops;—*Not that any of theſe Articles is literally the Sum applied to the Account of the Charge of that Article, of which it bears the Title, but the Deficiency of the one is made up by the Exceedings of the other, and many Contingencies and Neceſſaries are accounted for under this Form; upon the groſs Amount of which, theſe Princes are enabled to make good their Engagements with us.* There is likewiſe another Condition, for they always tie us to contract for a certain Number of Years, whether we want the Troops or not; without which they would find no Account in their Bargain.—When the Conjuncture of Affairs obliged our Miniſters to take the *Hanoverian* Forces into Pay, if they had had the mean Inclination to have paid their Court to his Majeſty, they were therefore warranted by all Precedents to have made their Bargain upon this Footing, as theſe Troops were in a Manner the only Troops we could have hired at that Time; as they were as good as any in the World, as they were ſituated the moſt commodiouſly for our Service, and as they muſt have been uſeleſs to the common Cauſe, and have been disbanded, if we had not paid them, his Majeſty's Electoral Dominions, not being ſufficient to maintain both them, and the other Troops he had raiſed in this critical Situation of Affairs, eſpecially with the great additional Charge of Marching: The Miniſters therefore could have deſerved no Cenſure, nay, might have even merited Applauſe, for taking a Meaſure, which would have been juſt, fair, and equitable, and beneficial to this Country, even upon the common Foot of other mercenary Troops; nor could this Nation have had any Title to have complained of his Majeſty, if in his different Capacity, as Elector of *Hanover*, he had deſired to be conſidered on the ſame Footing as any other *German* Prince.—But *his Majeſty*, with a *Generoſity*, for which he has met with a very *ungrateful* Return, declined theſe Pretenſions, and to ſhew his own Zeal for the Service of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and his Deſire to make the Burthen to *Great Britain* as light as poſſible, he conſented to Conditions, to which no other *German* Prince would have ſubmitted, and which were both in preſent, *certainly*, and in proſpect, *probably*, a great Reduction

of

of the Charge to this Nation; for whereas in all other Treaties of this kind, part of the Sums ſtipulated are paid, and commence before the March of the Troops—He conſented, that their Pay ſhould commence only upon the very Day they began their March from *Hanover*, viz. the 31ſt of *Auguſt* 1742.—He inſiſted upon no Terms, *as to the Time that we ſhould pay them*, ſo that if the Troubles, in which we were involved, ſhould have determined in the Space of *one Year only*, we were bound to keep them *no longer*,—a Circumſtance that might very poſſibly have ſaved a *Million* of Money to this Nation, and which might have proved (were this a Bargain of neat Profit to his Majeſty, as theſe Incendiaries ſuggeſt) a Loſs of as much to his Majeſty, in his Electoral Capacity.—Nor was this all; but his Majeſty entirely remitted that Article of *Annual Subſidy*, which every other *German* Prince has done, now does, and ever will inſiſt upon; and which, according to the Proportion paid to the King of *Sweden*, as Landgrave of *Heſſe-Caſſel* (who beſides Levy-Money * and the Pay of his Troops, receives an annual Subſidy of 33,000 *l.* for only 6,000 of his Forces) his Majeſty had been entitled for 16,000 of his Troops, to near 100,000 *l. per Annum*; which Saving to this Nation, together with the other Particulars we have mentioned, make ſo vaſt a Difference between the Charge of theſe Troops, and thoſe of any other we could have hired, that it is an Impudence beyond Example to have treated this Point in the Manner that it has been treated by the *Faction*, as we ſhall farther ſhew hereafter.

But though it may not be ſtrictly regular in Point of Time or the Order we have laid down, to take full Notice of the Proceedings of the *Faction* upon *this Head* (till we come to *the next*, viz. *their Conduct in the next Seſſion of Parliament*) yet it will not be illconvenient to clear the Way, by removing the Rubbiſh of thoſe Objections, with which they have flattered themſelves, to cover the Malignity of their virulent Scandal upon this Meaſure, becauſe this Scandal was of a Nature ſo uncommon, deſperate and dangerous, that it will be greatly for the Advantage of the Publick to preſent it naked, ſtripped of that deluſive Garb in which they have uſed ſo much wicked Art to dreſs it, and void of any other Matter that may divert the Publick from the full View and Contemplation of its Iniquity.

To proceed therefore; under this Head of the Nature of the Bargain for the *Hanoverian* Troops, it was objected, *that by taking theſe Troops into* Britiſh *Pay*, *before we marched into* Germany, *we paid full one half Year before we had Occaſion for them.*—As to this, it has been already anſwered, that we might not

* See the Votes of the Houſe of Commons, *April* 14, 1740.

not have been able to have joined at all, if we had not done it when we did; it has been likewiſe ſhewn, how many other Advantages we both did reap, and expected juſtly to reap from it. By Parity of Reaſoning, we ſhould not have begun to embarque our National Troops for *Flanders*, till the Beginning of this Campaign.—And if Troops are not to be aſſembled, till the Moment they are to enter upon Action, or if an Adminiſtration is to be condemned for being in Readineſs to act as ſoon as Circumſtances will admit, or for not acting, before either Time, Circumſtances, or the Seaſon of the Year will give them leave; and if an Army is expected to fight whenever it is in the Field, without regard to any Event or Situation of things, we have to deal with Politicians, whoſe Ignorance or Prejudice render them unworthy of any reaſonable Anſwer.

Another Objection was to *the granting Levy-Money for Troops already raiſed, and again, to the granting a greater Levy-Money than is paid to other Foreign Troops.* As to the *firſt*, we have already given a ſufficient Anſwer, by obſerving the Nature of all theſe Contracts, viz. *That no one of theſe Articles litterally contains the Sum applied to the Charge of that Article of which it bears the Title: but the Deficiency of the one is made up by the Exceedings of the other, and many Contingencies, Neceſſaries, and extraordinary Expences, are accounted for under this Form; upon the groſs Amount of which, and not otherwiſe, Foreign Princes can be enabled to afford their Troops to us at the Rate they do*, and upon this Foot it was allowed lately to the Troops of *Denmark*. As to the *Second*, the Levy-Money of theſe Troops is in the ſame Proportion with that of all others; but the Sum was the larger, becauſe the Body of Troops, hired in this Inſtance, conſiſted One-third of *Horſe*, whereas in moſt of our other Contracts of this Nature, the Horſe have uſually amounted only to *One-ſixth*; and particularly in the Caſe of the *Danes* and *Heſſians*, which lately were and now continue in our Service.

It was again objected, that we *are charged with a new Article for the Officers of the Artillery*; and it is true, that it is a new Article, but it is an Article which ariſes from an Improvement in the Military Diſcipline, and one of the moſt remarkable of any that have been made in modern Time. Every Regiment, in the Service of all the *German* Princes, carrying with them two Field Pieces, which they manage with a very extraordinary Addreſs, firing incredibly often in one Minute; and no Man can pretend to ſay, that it was not neceſſary to conform ourſelves to the Diſcipline of the Age we live in, and to avail ourſelves of any new Advantages in War, which might either give us a *Superiority*, or put us upon a *Level* with the *Enemy*.

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We were accuſed again with making a bad Bargain in *charging the Exchange, by the Eſtimate laid before the Houſe of Commons at the Rate of ten Guilders ten Stivers the Pound Sterling, which is ſuppoſed to be an Exchange of eight Stivers to our Diſadvantage*, and an unneceſſary Expence of 26,000 *l.* But this was fully anſwered in Parliament, though all the Writers of the *Faction* made no Scruple to conceal it in their ſubſequent Productions.—"They were there told, that in the Nature of theſe Things, "all Eſtimates muſt be formed upon ſome poſitive Rate of Ex-"change; that this Rate was mentioned in the Eſtimate, be-"cauſe from the Variation of Exchange, it might have amount-"ed to that, and to prevent a Deficiency if it ſhould; but that "this Eſtimate did by no means fix the Rate of the Exchange, "and that all Savings that aroſe or might ariſe upon that Head, "were conſtantly, and would, according to ancient Cuſtom, "be certainly accounted for to Parliament."—This Objection therefore has no other Foundation than the Ignorance or Malice of the *Faction*.

It was likewiſe objected, that *in all Contracts of this Nature during the former War, there was a Deduction of Two and one-half* per Cent. *to be applied to the Uſes of the War*, which amounted to 16,447 *l.* and which was not deducted in this Contract.—This Objection ſavours ſtrongly of the Party from whence it comes,—they had been ſearching after Precedents from the Conduct of their *Faction* in the Reign of the late Queen *Anne*, when their Predeceſſors made no ſmall Diſturbance upon this Head, and when the ſame *Faction* attacked that great Man the Duke of *Marlborough* in Parliament, for having taken this Deduction of Two and one-half *per Cent.* from the Foreign Troops under his Command. *In the Report of the Commiſſioners for taking, examining, and ſtating the publick Accounts of the Kingdom* at that Time, which was intended as an Inquiſition upon that General, they then inſinuated this Abatement of Foreign Pay *to be a Deduction for the Uſes of the War:* But the Nature of the *thing* was fully explained, ſuch a Deduction has been always made and is made at this Time; but it neither then did, nor conſequently does now, appear in any publick Account. It is a Sum which was firſt obtained by Conſent of the allied Princes in the Reign of King *William*, in the Nature of a voluntary Tax upon their Subſidies, afterwards continued in the Time of the Duke of *Marlborough*, and in the Reign of Queen *Anne*, always allowed by Warrant from the Crown to the General in Chief for procuring of Intelligence, and other ſecret Service, but never laid before Parliament in Diminution of any Eſtimate. Nothing more there-

fore

fore need to be ſaid to ſhew the Fallacy and Malevolence of this Objection, or to wipe off the Imputation of Exceſs in this Particular.

For a farther Aggravation, a Compariſon was attempted to be drawn *between the Charge of the* Hanoverians *hired in the late War in* 1702, *and thoſe now taken into our Pay.*---But no ſuch Compariſon can properly be made, becauſe we have not the Materials for it,---the *Dutch* firſt took them into their Service, and they were afterwards turned over into *our* Pay.---The *Dutch* therefore paid the firſt Expences of Levy-Money, *&c.* and unleſs we had Acceſs to the Archives of that Republick, neither *they* nor *we* are qualified to aſcertain this Point, though it is not reaſonable to believe, that theſe Troops were then hired upon different Terms, than ſuch as have been the general Rule in Caſes of the ſame Nature.

The next Matter of Cavil was the *extraordinary Charge of a Regiment of* Hanoverian *Guards*, which being equal in Expence to twice their Number of common Men, is reckoned another Inſtance of exorbitant Expence. But, ſurely, there is no Man who will diſpute this to be a proper Expence, when the Prince commands in Perſon, and he muſt be very much abandoned, who will think it decent to urge it now, when this Nation has ſo lately obtained ſo great and ſo manifeſt a Benefit from his Majeſty's perſonal Appearance at the Head of our united Army.

The laſt Objection, which has made the greateſt Noiſe, tho' it deſerves the leaſt Notice, *is to the hiring of* Hanoverian *Forces at all upon any Terms.* It is demanded, how an *Engliſh* Adminiſtration dare adviſe the Hire of Forces the moſt obnoxious, Forces that muſt create ſo great a Diſcontent, Forces that muſt eſtabliſh that dangerous Diſtinction of *Engliſhmen* and *Hanoverians*, and a Meaſure that muſt ſhake the Intereſt of his Majeſty upon the Throne, and poiſon the Affections of his People? ---But let us have the Liberty to put a few Queſtions to theſe Gentlemen in our Turn.---Could we have compoſed a ſufficient Army without theſe Troops? Why is it more criminal to hire theſe Forces in the preſent War, than in that of Queen *Anne*, when we conſtantly entertained a great Body of them in our Pay without any Objection? What is it that has rendered theſe Forces *now* obnoxious which were never ſo *before?* What has created any Diſcontent upon this abſolutely neceſſary Meaſure? What has eſtabliſhed that dangerous Diſtinction of *Engliſhmen* and *Hanoverians?* What is it that has ſhaken the Intereſt of his Majeſty, or poiſoned the Affections of his People (*both* which have been indeed ſtrongly endeavoured, but I thank God *neither* yet affected) no other Anſwer can be given to any of theſe Queſtions, but that there is in this Country at this Time,

a Faction deſtitute of Principle and Shame, and void of all Remorſe, who taking Advantage of the Ignorance and vulgar Prejudices of a heated People, have glaringly attempted, by fallacious Arguments, vile Miſrepreſentations, and downright Falſhood, covered by a popular and confuſed Jargon of ſeditious Rhetoric, to gratify their Revenge, to advance their private Intereſts, and to promote their pernicious Views, at the Expence of ſacred Truth, and moral Virtue, at the Hazard of the Liberties of *Europe*, the Peace of their own Country, and the Security of a Prince and Family, upon whoſe Eſtabliſhment the Conſtitution of theſe Kingdoms can alone depend.

We have now pretty fully gone through with a Deduction of the Meaſures taken by the Adminiſtration during the Interval of Parliament; we have explained the Nature and the Neceſſity of theſe Meaſures; we have ſhewn the Succeſs, and almoſt miraculous Alteration in the Situation of our Affairs; which were viſibly their Conſequence. But whether they were the neceſſary Conſequence of them or not—the Face of Affairs was in fact ſo wonderfully changed, that inſtead of that Proſpect of almoſt inevitable Ruin, which appeared before our Eyes, in the Beginning of the previous Seſſions of Parliament, there was, at leaſt, a great Probability of ſaving the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and of reſtraining the Ambition of *France* from profiting by her immenſe Expences, and the Labour ſhe had taken, to move the whole Earth to the Deſtruction of the only Power, that ſtood between her and the virtual Poſſeſſion of the Univerſal Empire.—Let us inculcate this happy Alteration by a ſecond Recapitulation of it.

Saxony and *Pruſſia* were disjoined from the Alliance of *France*, and with Circumſtances, that in a great degree ſecured us from a Poſſibility of their uniting with her again during the preſent Contention; *Bavaria* was not only incapable of affording any material Aſſiſtance to the Views of *France*, but actually a conſiderable Part of it in Poſſeſſion of the *Auſtrians*, two great *French* Armies of veteran Troops totally deſtroyed; Diſeaſes and Deſpair, the viſible Companions of the remaining Forces of the Emperor and *France*, inferior to the *Auſtrians*, who were now fluſh'd with Succeſs, enrich'd with Plunder, enured to Arms and Victory: Theſe remaining Forces coup'd up in a Corner of *Bavaria* and *Bohemia*, in the utmoſt Diſtreſs for Proviſions, not to be recruited till the Spring; and then, from the vaſt Loſſes of the regular Troops of *France*, only by new Levies of a raw and diſheartened People, forced, driven and preſſed into the Service, with the moſt manifeſt Dread and Terror of it; the *French* Government, deteſted and deſpiſed by

its own People, for its ill Succeſs and ruinous Meaſures; the Queen of *Bohemia* repoſſeſſed of the greateſt Part of her Dominions; and of a Treaſure inеſtimable, the united Hearts of all her Subjects, moved to the utmoſt Degree of Tenderneſs by her Danger and the Injuſtice of her Enemies, warmed with the moſt fervent Zeal, by her gallant, firm and prudent Conduct; the King of *Sardinia*, ſteady to his Engagements, and infinitely ſerviceable to the common Cauſe; the *Spaniards* check'd, foil'd and diſappointed in all their *Italian* Views; the King of *Naples* bridled by our Fleets; the *Swedes* confounded by *French* Councils, and by the juſt Arms of *Ruſſia*; courting the Mediation of *Great Britain* for their Preſervation, who but the Year before had been led by *France* to diſturb the Peace of the *North*, in Contempt of *Britain*, and probably not without a remote View to her Deſtruction; the *Dutch* potently armed, viſibly able, and ſecretly inclined to join us in the Quarrel; a very great Army in the *Britiſh* Pay of the beſt Troops in *Europe*; freſh and ready to enter into Action, whenever Neceſſity ſhould require; the *Turks* incapable of being moved by *France*, thinking of nothing but their own Preſervation againſt the Attempts of *Perſia*:---Theſe were the happy Circumſtances into which, by the Providence of God, and the Prudence of the Adminiſtration, our Affairs were brought, when his Majeſty opened his Parliament upon the 16th of *November* laſt.

We now come to the next Head of our Diſcourſe, the Conduct of the Faction at the next Meeting of the Parliament---They, who had been longeſt in an Oppoſition, and had conducted it, and know the moſt of it, even they were unable to conceive in what manner their former Collegues would behave, upon what Footing they could oppoſe the Support of Meaſures ſo lately popular, conducted with ſo much Judgment and Vigour, and attended with ſuch providential Succeſs; or thwart the Proſecution of his Majeſty's further Views to take Advantage of this happy Change: They knew indeed the Men by long Experience, they were well acquainted with their Views, and that they would ſtick at nothing to obtain that Share in the Emoluments of Power, which their Madneſs had ſo lately deprived them of; but they were at a Loſs to comprehend how they would betake themſelves to ſcreen their Views from the Detection of the People, without whoſe Aſſiſtance they could do nothing; a People brave and honeſt, endued with more Underſtanding too, with more Lights and Knowledge from the Nature of our Government than any other People in the World, and in general never wrong, but when ſeduced by *Fraud*, or heated by *Paſſions*; the Succeſs appeared too notorious to admit of thoſe *Frauds*, without

out Misrepresentations too gross to be even supposed; and the Grounds of those *Passions* had been too justly removed, in all Instances, that it was practicable to be done; it was therefore thought impossible, that any such Attempt would meet with the least Encouragement, since the *previous Step* must be to eradicate *the old Principle* upon which the Safety of this Nation has ever depended; which it has never departed from without Shame and Misfortune; and which the People ever recurred to again, however temporarily seduced, viz. *that this Nation must eternally oppose the Advancement of the Monarchy of* France.

The *Faction* saw all this, and considered their Game at first as desperate, but their very Despair obliged them to persist—they knew that Opposition could never want some Allies from such as had been duped by them, and knew not how to retreat, and from such as, by the same Errors, were in the same desperate Condition with themselves, from such as were avowed *Jacobites*, and such as were of beggarly Circumstances, who had a Possibility of bettering themselves by the Confusion of their Country, which though far short of a Probability, was yet better than a Certainty of *Ruin* and a *Goal*, which stared them in the Face.

They had a farther Dependance upon the Liberty of the Press, which is always a mighty Engine, of equal Use to *Liberty* and *Faction*, they took Advantage from the Knowledge that the Ministers they now opposed were tender of it, and knowing this, they thought themselves secure in the most monstrous Abuse of it that was ever known in any Age or Nation.—A Use which their former Leaders, when it was under their Direction, never put it to themselves, in the same degree, *nor pointed to the Mark, at which it has been since wickedly levelled.*—This was the Spring by which they proposed to set the whole Machine in Motion, and by this they depended to retail Scurrility and Treason with Impunity (for Argument they had none) upon a wretched Set of People, who with Education just sufficient *to enable them to read*, spend all their leisure Time, and sometimes more than they have conveniently to spare from behind the Counter, in some blind Coffee-house, and thence retiring to their Tavern Assemblies, retail it out again, to Men still below them in this *great Qualification*; where, to shew that they understand the true Spirit of every libellous Production, they enter into all its Sentiments, and become, in their own great Opinions, and in the Opinions of their Auditors, after a little Habit in this Way, consummate Politicians, judging of the Interests of all States and Kingdoms, and of all Ministers and Princes, as well as of their own, *whom they constantly take*

for granted to be the worſt of all, and the ſole Authors of every Calamity and Diſorder of the whole World.

With theſe *Troops*, and with this *Artillery* of *Faction*, they ſtill thought themſelves enabled to take the Field.—They had, it is true, ſeen all Squadrons of Oppoſition intermixed with Bodies of theſe, but never led by ſuch Generals, nor conſiſting of theſe Troops alone: However truſting in their Numbers, and depending upon their Noiſe, which, though it would produce no Argument from their own Quarter, prevented thoſe that came from another, from being heard, they commenced the ſecond Campaign, confiding more in the Diviſion of their Enemy, than in their own Strength, and truſting that ſome unfortunate Events, or ſome unhappy Errors, might, in Time, afford them better Colours, than (in ſpight of all the Varniſh they could put upon it) their Cauſe would for the preſent bear.

Of late Years, by the vaſt Encreaſe of Trade, and the Cuſtom of living in the Capital, for the greateſt Part of the Year, *London* and *Weſtminſter* had vaſtly encreaſed; — all great Cities are the Seat both of *Liberty* and *Faction*,—in Proportion to their Numbers and their Wealth, their Abilities either to defend the one, or to exert the other, encreaſe. — For the Means of one, and of the other, are the ſame, and they differ only in the Extent to which they are carried, and in the Lengths they go.— From this Encreaſe it was, that the late Oppoſition derived its Force, and it was by the Influence of theſe two Cities, in great meaſure, that they routed the late Adminiſtration.--*Weſtminſter* had in a particular Manner exerted itſelf to maintain its Freedom of Election, which had been, with unaccountable Imprudence, invaded with very ſtrong and odious Circumſtances at their Choice of Members for the preſent Parliament.—The Adminiſtration ſtill, with greater Raſhneſs, were determined, if they could, to make this irregular Election ſtand, which ſo much offended all, as well violent as moderate Men, that there aroſe a Conjunction of all Intereſts, and of all Principles, which created an Oppoſition ſo formidable, that it was not to be reſiſted, and ſuch as, it is hoped, there will never be the ſame Occaſion to ſee again.—The Juſtice of the Cauſe, and the Conſequence of its Iſſue to the People, made Men exert themſelves with an uncommon Spirit, and cauſed them to appear in vaſt Numbers, and in very frequent Aſſemblies, by which Men of all Tempers became acquainted, who would otherwiſe never have known each other.—The moſt *warm and violent* conſorted together, who when they had carried their Point, and found the Sweets of Victory, (from a kind of Turn natural to that Order of

of Mankind, and to Perſons of ſuch a Diſpoſition) knew no longer how to confine themſelves within their own proper Sphere, and thought themſelves equally qualified and equally entitled to direct the Nation, as to conduct their own Election. Thus when the *Moderate* and *Wiſe*, contented with having done their Duty, and carried the only Point with which they were intitled to interfere, retired peaceably to reap the Fruits of an Event, which produced many other beneficial Conſequences to their Country: *Theſe*, though *a mere Handful*, ſtrengthening themſelves with Numbers who had no Right to vote, and laying hold of every Man they could draw in, ſtill continued to maintain the Shadow of their former Meetings. *Theſe* were the firſt applied to by the *Faction*, and aſſuming the Title of a numerous, powerful, and worthy Set of Men, who had lately made ſo great a Noiſe in the World, under the Stile of the *Independant Inhabitants of Weſtminſter*, were, in Conjunction with proper Inſtruments in the City of *London*, to take the Lead, and to ſet the Example to all the other Cities and Corporations of the Kingdom. Through this Canal, the Ice was to be broken to the People in general, and Inſtructions were drawn up, in which three or four were out of Form conſulted, and which about *fourſcore* out of 16,000 Electors in *Weſtminſter*, and *two or three hundred* out of 6000 Liverymen in *London*, ſanctified with their Approbation.—Theſe being publiſhed in the printed Papers, were, with Diligence and Expedition, ſent into the Country, as the Senſe of this great Metropolis, to be thence taken for the Voice of the whole People of *England*; and for Fear, notwithſtanding this Suggeſtion, that the People in the Country would not ſufficiently reſent it, if their Repreſentatives did not literally conform themſelves to this pretended Senſe of the whole good People of *England*, they publiſhed a Pamphlet, to convince them, that it was the Duty of every Member of Parliament, to vote in every Inſtance as his Conſtituents ſhould direct him in the Houſe of Commons,—a Thing in the higheſt Degree abſurd, for *it is the conſtant and allowed Principle of our Conſtitution, that no Man, after he is choſen, is to conſider himſelf as a Member for any particular Place, but as a Repreſentative for the whole Nation*,—without which there could neither be Freedom of Judgment, or Speech, without which all Debate muſt be entirely unneceſſary, and without which the Legiſlature would be torn with Faction, Nonſenſe, and Contrariety of Intereſts, to a degree of Confuſion that muſt deſtroy all Government.—Hence it is that Parliaments have never allowed the Right of Inſtructing to lie in the People; and it has accordingly been a Practice, which, introduced firſt in the

Times

Times of the *great Rebellion*, has never ſince been exerciſed but in Times that threatened *the ſame Confuſion*.

Yet when theſe Inſtructions appeared, they were far from anſwering the firſt End of inducing all others to follow their Example. Some few Corporations did it; but no Endeavours of the Faction could extend it far: Nay, ſome addreſſed their Members, and particularly *Briſtol*, the *third City* in the *Kingdom*, in direct Oppoſition to them; nor is it to be wondered at, for the Inſtructions from *London* were not only a direct and ſcurrilous Libel upon the Adminiſtration, but the moſt ſeditious Inſtrument, that ever was penned, and very little ſhort of Treaſon both againſt the King and Conſtitution. Thoſe of *Weſtminſter* were leſs fruitleſs in perſonal Abuſe, which they hinted only, that they kept in Reſerve till they ſaw whether their Ideas were complied with; in many other Reſpects they went *as far*, and in ſome, *viz.* with Reſpect to the Conſtitution, *ſtill farther* than the City of *London* itſelf.

The diſtinguiſhed Points of theſe ever memorable Performances may be reduced to the following Heads, 1*ſt*, the *Abuſe of Perſons* without the leaſt Reſerve or Decency: 2*dly*, The *Place-Bill*: 3*dly*, The *Triennial Law*: 4*thly*, *Juſtice* upon the Earl of *Orford*: 5*thly*, *Granting no Supplies* till the 2*d*, 3*d*, and 4*th* Point here mentioned were complied with.

Now if every one of theſe Points be duly conſidered, we can be at no Loſs to diſcover what their View was, and from what Quarter their Inſtructions came.—With regard to the firſt, as I have obſerved before, *the Abuſe of Perſons* was the Fort of the Faction in all former Oppoſition; but as they were very ſenſible that to anſwer any View by it, they muſt carry it to a greater Exceſs; and do it with greater Injuſtice and Confidence than was ever done before, it was very prudent to be able to quote for their Example, what they termed the Senſe of the whole Nation.—As to the ſecond Article, the *Place-Bill*, they knew no *wiſe Government* would think it prudent to ſtrengthen the popular Intereſt in ſuch a time of Inflammation; that therefore *King*, *Lords* and *Commons* would refuſe to paſs it, as they had the more Reaſon to do, a Bill of the ſame Nature very conſiderable in its Conſequences (though miſrepreſented groſsly) having paſſed in the laſt Seſſions. As to the *Triennial Law*, they were ſure that could not be obtained, becauſe they knew there were not ten Men ſeriouſly for it, in the whole Parliament, and their moſt flaming Patriots had themſelves voted againſt it in the laſt Seſſions. As to *what they called Juſtice* upon the Earl of *Orford*, they knew that they had already by their own Conduct put it out of the Power of any Set of Men to effect

fect it; which was the Reaſon that in Truth they inſiſted upon theſe three laſt mentioned Points; being ſure from thence, though Things fell out the beſt for this Nation, and the worſt for them, never to want Ground and Pretence for Oppoſition, and for a ſeeming Juſtification of the *grand Point of all, the diſtreſſing of Government, by granting no Money to the Crown*; which without this Addreſs and theſe Arts, the People would have looked upon them, not as *Patriots*, but as *Monſters* and *Madmen*, in the then critical Situation of Affairs, to have oppoſed, when *the Ballance of Power*, that Point with Juſtice ſo much favoured at all Times by this Country, lay at an immediate Stake.

It was thus by heating the Minds of the People, and by ſetting them in a vain Diſpute, that they endeavoured to bring the Nation off from the true Scent, and to pave the Way for the Revival of their *Tory* Principles again :—By inculcating theſe popular Points, and ſpreading a certain general Maxim very fallaciouſly applied, that *It was of no Conſequence what became of the Liberties of* Europe, *if we did not firſt ſecure our Liberties at Home*, they diſguiſed their Attempts of deſtroying both the one and the other.

The *Faction* having now no Means to gain upon the Reaſon, ſought only to depend upon the Madneſs of the People, and having laid a Foundation by *theſe Inſtructions* before mentioned, upon the firſt Opening of the Seſſions, oppoſed *the Addreſs to his Majeſty in Return for his Speech from the Throne*, in which were enumerated ſeveral of thoſe Advantages, which called ſo loudly for the Gratitude of this Nation both to *God* and *Man*; but they diſcovered no Temper of that kind to *either*: Nay, as if the Senſe and Memory of all their Auditors had been totally loſt, they diſclaimed againſt the preſent State of things, as if equally bad and deſperate, with that out of which we had ſo happily eſcaped, retailing by rote the ſame Imputations to the preſent Conduct, and the ſame Reflections upon the preſent State of our Affairs, as they had learned of their Leaders before, when the Situation of Affairs was totally the reverſe: Notwithſtanding the viſible Importance of convincing the World abroad, in this critical Conjuncture, (eſpecially after the great Confuſion of this Country and the Change of the Miniſtry) that the Publick were united to ſupport the Common Cauſe; though it is well known, as an able Foreigner obſerves, *que ſur tout depuis le Commencement de ce Siecle, les Harangues des Rois de la* Grande Britagne *à l' overture du Parlement ſont conſiderés comme des Eſpeces d' Oracles touchant la Situation generale des Affaires de l'* Europe:

P Europe * :—And though, whoever has travelled abroad is ſenſible how the Expectations of all Nations are raiſed or depreſſed according to the Sentiments expreſſed from the Throne, and according to the Reception of the King's Speech in the firſt Debate of Parliament; it was in vain to reaſon from hence, that what gained Credit with all Foreign Nations, ought to meet with ſome Reſpect at home.—That the Conſequences of not correſponding with the Sentiments of the Crown, muſt either be a Suggeſtion of *Falſhood* in his *Majeſty*, or of *Ignorance* or *Madneſs* in *ourſelves*; that in ſuch a Situation this muſt throw Things back again into all the firſt Confuſion—that any Coldneſs expreſſed in ſuch an extraordinary Conjuncture, muſt convince the World, that a ſecond Revolution of our Adminiſtration was to follow,—that as the Confidence ariſing in all our natural Allies, and Dejection in our Enemies, proceeded only from the Proſpect of the Change of Meaſures conſequential to it, both would infallibly be defeated by a Proſpect of the Diſcontinuance of that Adminiſtration.—That theſe Reflections muſt convert the Confidence of the one into Deſpair, the Dejection of the other into Confidence,—that this muſt infallibly induce the King of *Sardinia* to liſten to the Invitations of Advantage thrown in his Way by *France* and *Spain*; intimidate the *Dutch* from entering into Engagements with us; compel the Houſe of *Auſtria* to ſubmit immediately to any Terms which *France* ſhould impoſe, and irrecoverably ſacrifice all *Europe* to be cantoned out at the Will of that imperious Power; induce *Pruſſia* and *Saxony*, who had juſt receded from that Confederacy, to purſue new Views of Advantage to themſelves, at the Expence of that diſtreſſed Princeſs; ſacrifice all the Sums already expended in this Cauſe, and totally defeat all the Views, we now ſo reaſonably entertained, of reſtoring the Balance of Power. In fine, that it would inevitably drive us back into the Steps of the laſt Adminiſtration, which even the *Faction* ſtill affected to condemn and puniſh.—All this had no Effect; theſe Arguments could have no Effect on Men, who had Views to which they bore no Relation, and who, by their original Principles, wiſhed ſecretly the very Thing that others, by their Reaſoning, endeavoured to prevent; at laſt the Senſe of the Houſe being taken by a Diviſion, it appeared, not leſs to the Amazement of themſelves, than to that of all honeſt Men, that ſo many were of their own Principles, ſo many defeated in their Expectations, ſo many fettered in Apprehenſions of the Popular Spirit of the Time, the Hazard of their future Elections, the Fear of Perſonal Abuſe,

* *Rouſſet.* Vol III. fol. 327.

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the miſtaken Shame of deſerting what they called their Party, (though they knew them in the wrong, and wiſhed to be out of the Enchantment) ſo many led away by the ſpecious Pretence of imaginary or irremediable Grievances, and ſo many weak and deluded Men, that they were joined by a very great Number.

This Degree of Succeſs elated them ſo far, that they gave a Vent to all their Rage and Malice againſt every one, who had differed from them in this Vote;—painted it out to the People in every Colour of Inconſiſtency; they had treated thoſe, who acted with the former Adminiſtration, for twenty Years paſt, without Mercy, as the greateſt Villains for entertaining for a Principle, *that they ſhould vote with their Party in all Queſtions whatſoever, right or wrong, and that Party could be no otherwiſe maintained:* Yet, as much as they had condemned this Principle a little while before, they made no ſcruple to adopt it now, and for this ſingle Vote, branded every Man, who gave it, at once, as a Deſerter of the Cauſe of his Country, exerting every *low, mean* and *infamous Art*, to *injure*, *blacken*, and *defame* him.

The *Faction* now obſerving, that they were abetted, not only without Doors, but within, by a larger Body of People than they could have at firſt imagined, determined in the next Inſtance, without Reſerve, to try how far that Deluſion had extended, and could ſupport them.—When therefore the Eſtimates for the 16,000 *Britiſh* Troops in *Flanders* came to be conſidered, *they oppoſed, with the utmoſt Vehemence, the granting the Supply for this Service, inſiſting upon their being recalled home, and diſbanded*;—and now they began to appear in their full Colour the Men they were; they not only trod in the Steps of their Predeceſſors, in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second, King *William*, and Queen *Anne*, but they travelled that Pace, which none of them had gone before.—None had ever ſo openly avowed the Views of leaving the whole World to the Mercy of *France:* No *Engliſhman* before could have dared to make a Propoſition of this Nature, when our Armies were actually united in the Field, and *France*, bending its utmoſt Force to the Ruin of our moſt potent and conſtant Ally abroad.—Even in that infamous Scene in the Reign of the Queen, they were contented, for the firſt Step, to agree to a Ceſſation of Arms, and to ſeparate from their Allies:—They made a Peace, ſuch as it was, before they brought back a ſingle Regiment;—they had then the Pretence of ſome Conceſſions from *France*, ſmall as they were, compared with the Advantages in our Power at that Time to have procured:—they had the Plea of a dangerous Intereſt, that the General had acquired in the Army, and of

ambitious Views, in a great Subject, which a Princeſs, *the laſt of her Race*, had no Ability to contend with ;—they had Pretences, from the immenſe Sums which had been already expended upon the War, and which People naturally wiſhed to be eaſed from almoſt at any Rate ;—they had even ſome Shew of Conſiſtency in their Conduct ; for they had been long at work to obſtruct and oppoſe the Continuance of it.—But for theſe People, all Appearance of Reaſon and Conſiſtency was as remote to juſtify them in what they did, as their Deſign was manifeſt to ruin the Intereſt, to pervert the Principles, to inſult the Underſtandings, and abuſe the Weakneſs of their Countrymen.

We can never recur too often to this Point, that whoever knows the Hiſtory of this Government, can judge of its Intereſts and its Dangers, muſt know, that it has been, and ought to be, the conſtant Principle of Politicks, by which this Nation muſt be ever governed.—To keep down the Power of the Houſe of *Bourbon*, that if ſhe now acquires ever ſo little an Addition to it, *In its Conſequences, the Trade, the Liberty, the Religion, the Independency of this Nation, will be inevitably undone.—That to prevent this Power from Encreaſe, we muſt ſupport ſome great Power on the Continent, capable to ſtand for a Time, till Confederacies may be formed againſt her* ;—that for Ages paſt, and ſtill at this Hour, *no other Power is in any Degree equal (or capable in any reaſonable Proſpect of Time to be made equal) to that Taſk, but that of the Houſe of* Auſtria.—And that *therefore the Sum of all the Politicks of this Nation is to ſupport, by all the Means in our Power, the Houſe of* Auſtria.

The Nation has ſo long ſeen the Force of theſe Maxims, has ſuffered ſo much from every temporary Departure from them, and inſenſibly advanced into ſo manifeſt Danger, by every Relaxation from theſe Principles, that there was not a ſingle Man, who did not profeſs them, and upon this was grounded that univerſal Clamour againſt the late Adminiſtration. The Author of that worſt and moſt malicious Libel that ever was publiſhed, entitled, *The Caſe of the* Hanover *Troops*, himſelf confeſſes, that the univerſal Diſſatisfaction of that Time was principally owing to this weak, and, as he adds, wicked Conduct of our Foreign Affairs, and Neglect of theſe Principles. I may ſay more, there was not a ſingle Man of this Nation, who was not fully convinced, that they were true, though ſome were ſorry for their private Views againſt the Government, that they ſhould be purſued for no other Reaſon, than that they knew them to be true:—And therefore, upon the late Change of the Adminiſtration, it was reſolved, by the almoſt univerſal Senſe of the whole

Nation, notwithſtanding the firſt impotent Attempt of theſe Gentlemen to prevent it, that theſe 16,000 National Troops ſhould be ſent into *Flanders*.—When this was done, however, the Affairs of the Queen of *Hungary* had already providentially begun to mend, by a fortunate Winter's Campaign, and our Spirits were a little raiſed, by ſeeing her Ruin a little protracted. —Yet it was then evident, that theſe 16,000 Men were far from being able alone to prevent that Ruin. Had the Nation therefore been ripened enough into a fatal Diſtraction, much more might have been *then* urged, with greater Plauſibility, againſt this firſt Step, than againſt the Continuance of it, after it had been made.—The Proſpect of being able to compoſe an Army ſufficient to act againſt *France*, was then in ſome Degree precarious and remote: It might have been, (as it has been ſince) urged, that this could only operate by way of a Diverſion;—and hardly that, becauſe the *French* could not fear Hoſtilities from ſuch an Handful of Men;—yet, I ſay, the Meaſure was even then approved by the almoſt univerſal Senſe of this Nation,—as it was a Beginning, as it maintained the Faith of Treaties, as it was a Pledge of the future Intentions of this Country, and a Proof of our Change of Politicks, as it was a Root and a Foundation for other Troops to be gathered to, as Time or Incidents, or the common Danger, might induce;—and as it was conformable with *an eſtabliſhed Rule of Politicks, that he that gains Time, gains every thing.*

The Senſe therefore of theſe fundamental Principles brought, as I have ſaid, in a manner, the whole Nation to be willing, at a Time, when two of the greateſt Powers in *Germany* were embarqued, and in the Field, in Conjunction with *France*, againſt the Queen of *Hungary*,—at a Time, when *Hanover*, and the *Dutch*, were both awed by a *French* Army; and when no certain or immediate Proſpect appeared, of Aſſiſtance on any Side, but from the Houſe of *Savoy* in *Italy*, to adventure this Experiment, an Experiment of 6 or 700,000 *l.* They thought every thing was to be tried in ſuch Extremities, and no Expence to be conſidered, where the *Trade*, the *Liberty*, the *Religion* and *Independency* of this Nation, were viſibly at Stake.

How then could this ſcandalous Oppoſition to the Continuance of this Meaſure be ſwallowed by the Publick in the very next Year, when the Face of our Affairs was changed in ſo wonderful a manner in our Favour, when *Pruſſia* and *Saxony* had deſiſted from being Enemies to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, when the *French* Armies had been ſo greatly diminiſhed, when the Queen of *Hungary* had almoſt cleared her whole Dominions from the Enemy, when the *Dutch* and *Hanover* were no longer awed by

France, when inſtead of a naked Body of 16,000 Men, by the Junction of *Heſſians*, *Hanoverians* and *Auſtrians*, we had actually an Army collected in one Body of 50,000 Men: The Anſwer to this Queſtion is eaſily made, the Ardour of the Nation had, by infamous Arts been converted into the Heat of a *Faction*; Oppoſition, which was before conducted by *Whig* Principles, was now led by Incendiaries and *Jacobits*; who never did, nor ever will lead the People but to Meaſures inconſiſtent with their Intereſts and Safety.

But though the Wicked abound in this and in all other Countries, yet they are never numerous enough alone to attempt the Ruin of their Country, they muſt have a vaſt Acceſſion of the Honeſt to aſſiſt them, and they muſt impoſe upon their Weakneſs to abet their Views; they muſt have ſome Pretences to prevail upon them:—Let us now conſider what theſe Pretences were.

"They firſt began tenderly to inſinuate that our firſt Prin-
"ciples of Policy, however long maintain'd, were in them-
"ſelves erroneous; and that conſidering the former immenſe
"Expences of this Nation, the little Fruit that we had reap-
"ed from them, and the Probability of being ſtill from Time
"to Time engaged in new Quarrels, it was fit to be conſider-
"ed, whether it was not proper to enter upon a new Syſtem;
"that it was viſible we could never make any Acquiſitions up-
"on the Continent to reimburſe our Expences; and that we
"therefore conſumed ourſelves only for the Benefit of other
"Powers; that our Navy was a ſufficient Protection for us a-
"gainſt the whole World; that the regular Troops, which
"theſe Views obliged us to maintain would prove the Ruin of
"our Liberties; and the vaſt Taxes produce the Ruin of our
"Trade; ſo that it was thrown out as a Doubt fit for the Na-
"tion to conſider, whether it was not better to leave the reſt
"of the World to ſhift for itſelf as well as it could, and to
"entrench within our own natural Boundaries, take our
"Chance, and defend ourſelves the beſt we could." They were obliged to venture thus to ſhake the eſtabliſhed Principles that they might afterwards debauch the Underſtandings of the People, in which they proceeded exactly upon the Plan of their Brother Politicians, the *Jeſuits* and the Church of *Rome*, who begin all their Practices on thoſe they mean to ſeduce, by raiſing Doubts as to the Fundamentals of their Faith, which when once departed from, expoſe their unwary Pupils to be driven from one Point to another, till they at laſt reſign their Senſes to their inſidious Guides; theſe Political Seducers could not have failed to learn the Craft of a Set of People of whom they followed

followed the Views; and like thoſe by whom they had been taught their Leſſon, they applied theſe Inſinuations with great Caution at the firſt, and only upon ſuch Objects as by the Weakneſs of their Underſtandings were too dull of Apprehenſion to detect their Views, and who by their Ignorance could not be able to know, that theſe were the conſtant Practices of the *Jacobites*, *Enemies* of their *Country* and *Friends* of *France* upon all Occaſions.

There is always much Ignorance and much Weakneſs in the Bulk of Mankind, ſo that they were not long before they found their Effect in this ſecret Management; and they were further aſſiſted by a certain Temper, which every thinking Man muſt have obſerved in human Nature of the lower Claſs, *that they delight in any thing that is new, and in the marvellous*; theſe Refinements upon our Policy were ſtrange to them; and they admired at the Sagacity of thoſe, who had ſtruck out thoſe new Lights; which they were proud to appear the Inventors of, or at leaſt, to ſhew their ſuperior Judgment in comprehending as ſoon as hinted, and to diſplay this ſuperior Sagacity, farther inculcated all theſe Doctrines, upon the common People, who are always prone to reliſh a Diſcovery, which promiſes a Reduction of their Taxes and of an Army.

But alas! how ſhallow are the Underſtandings of theſe Men, who can be impoſed upon by this ſuperficial Reaſoning? Can the Wiſdom of this Age entertain the Vanity to think, that their Anceſtors have for ſeven hundred Years perſiſted in an Error, which the bright Genius of the enlightened Vulgar have now at length diſcovered to be ſuch? ſhall every Cobler in his Stall pretend a Knowledge of political Affairs, ſuperior to that of the beſt, the wiſeſt, the greateſt Men of this and all former Ages, whom their Education, and whole Turn of Life have adapted and dedicated to the Study of Politicks and Government? What ridiculous Vanity is this? and what Folly, to imagine that Men, who have no Intereſt in the State, but the Profits of their daily Labour, ſhould be more anxious for the Well-being of their Country, than thoſe, who have vaſt Properties to take Care of; who really feel the Burthens, which are but imaginary upon the reſt (becauſe in the Nature of things they caſt off the Load of all publick Charges from themſelves upon the Rich, by an Advance both in the Price of their Commodities and Labour,) and who alone ſuſtain all the Taxes of the Nation? Whoſe Lands are ſaddled directly or indirectly with the whole Expence; who, if Ruin falls upon their Country, muſt, by Forfeitures and Confiſcations, loſe their Eſtates, their Titles, and perhaps their Lives, while theſe, living by the natural

natural Occaſions of all Mankind, muſt ſtill be neceſſary to every State, transform it how you will, muſt be from that Neceſſity preſerved, and carry with them, through all Diſaſters of their Country, a certain Method of Subſiſtence. Shall this Order of the People, from the falſe Oratory, and Declamations of a few ſeditious Leaders, be perſuaded to oppoſe their new-fangled Sentiments to ſuch Men as theſe, preſume to ſet up for Leaders of Political Opinions, and by a few Inſtances of temporary Neglect in Great Men, (warped perhaps on ſome Occaſions from their Duty to their Country, by the Allurements of great Offices in the State,—or miſled into the Support of wrong Meaſures, for a time) be carried away, to think their Affairs more ſafe under the Direction of Men of deſperate Fortunes, low Rank, and even of the very Commonalty themſelves;—or becauſe all the Inſtances of frantick Management in Princes, have been collected together, to make a Bundle of Infamy againſt Government by Monarchy, and to expoſe the Errors and Wickedneſs of ſome crowned Heads;— are they to conclude, from theſe partial Informations, that Monarchy is no longer to be endured, or truſted with any degree of Power, however legally entitled to it by the Conſtitution of their Country?—and that neither the Prince, who derives his Glory from the Greatneſs of his People, his Security and Affluence from their Proſperity, nor the Nobility, whoſe Titles and Eſtates depend upon the ſame Source, are proper Judges of the Intereſt of the Publick, while they deem themſelves the only knowing, wiſe, and honeſt Politicians of the World.

Again,—Will this Nation be ſeduced to ſuch a Point as not to ſee, that neither this, nor any other in the Word can ſtand alone, and without Allies?—That Maritime Power is precarious, neceſſarily divided often, and capable of changing from one State to another, when protected only by itſelf—That when the *Romans* gained the univerſal Empire on the Continent, though much in a lower Condition in their Marine than *France* now is, the *Carthaginians*, the only State of the whole World then potent in this reſpect, were in the End deſtroyed.—That we ourſelves only by one fortunate Defeat ruined the Naval Force of *Spain* in 1588, and acquired the Dominion of the Sea.—That every People almoſt in *Europe*, have now ſome degree of Power upon that Element, and that a little Acceſſion of Influence to *France*, muſt put her in a Condition to compel that whole collected Power to contend with ours,— that ſhe might, with *a little Extent* of her Barrier, and *Arrondiſſement* of her Dominions, reduce half of her Armies, and employ half of her Revenues to encreaſe her Fleets.—That the Experience of all

all our Hiſtories ſhews, the utmoſt Care of the moſt numerous Squadrons inſufficient to ſecure us againſt being inſulted, nay, even actually invaded;—and that ſuch Invaſions have never failed to put us to great Expence, and have always given us great Alarms, and ſometimes proved ſucceſsful;—that we have rarely wanted a Faction, at any time, to back and to abett Attempts of this Nature; nor that, from the Nature of our Government, we ever ſhall,—and that when they were thus backed, and thus abetted, they hardly ever failed of their Deſign.—The very Government, and Monarchy and Conſtitution of this Country, owe their Origin to theſe Invaſions;—not to ſpeak of the *Romans*, whoſe Conqueſts are very remote, the *Saxons* conquered this Iſland, from the *Britons*, by their Fleets; the Empire of the *Saxons*, who, in Proportion to thoſe Times, had very conſiderable Naval Forces, was, for a while, entirely overthrown by the *Danes*; — and ſcarce had the *Saxons* recovered their Ground, but that the *Norman* Invaſion compleated all, and made an entire Conqueſt of this Nation.—From thence forward is it forgot how we have ſuffered by Deſcents from *France*; how the Contentions for private Title were perpetually carried on by foreign Aids, to the Perturbation of our State; how frequently every Party ſucceeded in their Turn; how near the *Spaniards*, as I have before obſerved, came to make a Province of this Iſland; how the Revolution, in the Memory of thoſe now living, ſucceeded, in ſpight of all the Vigilance of Government; how *Ireland* was upon the very Point of being loſt; how the *French* invaded, and retreated thence with Impunity; how, ſince that Time, many Deſcents have taken Effect; when our Navy was in its Zenith, and thoſe of other Powers at their loweſt Ebb;—how vaſt a Number of our Ships have been found inſufficient to anſwer all our ſeveral Purpoſes of Defence, of Trade, the Annoyance of our Enemies, and Protection of our own Coaſt, againſt one inconſiderable Enemy, and one hollow Friend?—If we have not forgot all this,—we muſt be mad, to think, that, at any Time, or in any Situation, this Nation can, with Security, alone confide in their Naval Force, much leſs when the reſt of *Europe* ſhall be reduced to the dread of, or to a provincial Dependance upon a great Empire, within three Hours ſail of ſome Part of our Dominions, and within ten of our Capital itſelf.

Will this Nation, however careful of its Liberty at Home, out of a remote and, honeſtly ſpeaking, little to be dreaded Danger of the Influence of a ſmall Military Force, expoſe itſelf to thoſe Inſults, which muſt deſtroy all Peace and Quiet, interrupt

all

all Commerce, and may, upon every Turn, ruin the publick Credit of this Country, which gives Life to every Thing, in which we find either Profit or Security at home :— But much more ſhall this Nation, from theſe imaginary Dangers, be diſtracted enough to diſband her Armies in the Time of actual War, and run headlong into the manifeſt, immediate and certain Dangers of a Foreign Yoke ?— Are we to put ourſelves to immediate Death for fear of dying hereafter ?—What Folly is it, (out of a magnified Miſrepreſentation of Diſtreſſes, imaginary, and falſely pretended, Decay of Trade, or Suggeſtions of Poverty in the midſt of immenſe Opulency, greater than either we or any other State in *Europe* ever yet enjoyed,) to refuſe Succour to *thoſe Allies*, whoſe *Standing Armies* awe that Power, which, when once unreſtrained by them, can never poſſibly be reſiſted, but by ſuch Standing Armies at home, as would indeed be ruinous both to Trade and Liberty. By theſe occaſional and temporary Expences, we ſecure the future and conſtant Aſſiſtance, and avail ourſelves of the Benefit of Standing Armies of numerous and potent Nations, which anſwer, upon any Emergency abroad, that Want, which we otherwiſe ſhould have of them at home, and without which our Country would infallibly, ſooner or later, be the Seat of War,—without which our Inhabitants, inſtead of Manufacturers, muſt univerſally become Soldiers,—and our Battles be fought within our own Bowels, and by our own Countrymen, inſtead of being fought in the Countries of our Enemies, and to the Depopulation of other Nations.— No Expence can be too great to ſecure us theſe Advantages, or to preſerve us from theſe Evils,—and to pretend, that the Benefits of our Situation are to be carried further than this, or to be ſecured by any other Means in the preſent State and Politicks of all the Powers on the Continent, is a *Preſumption* upon the Goodneſs and Felicity permitted us by Providence, and *a Nonſenſe* that will deſtroy it all.

However evident this Reaſoning may be, yet it's contrary met with Advocates, and enlarged *their Bottom*; but, *broad* as they affected to call it, and *broad*, as it really became, by the Folly and Paſſion, and the Ferment of the Time, the Foundation, upon which it was built, was too bad to admit it to ſtand without it was yet much *broader*, to which End they employed their Sophiſtry, upon the Head of our Troops in *Flanders*, ſtill much farther. This they urged in the Debate of that Day ; but afterwards, according to their Cuſtom, retailed among the People, in a Pamphlet, intitled, *The Queſtion ſtated with regard to our Army in* Flanders. At the Cloſe of which, they ſummed up all their Argument, corrected by the Debate, inlarged by the Col-

Collection of the various Reasonings of their Orators, and reduced by Leisure, into the Method best adapted to impose upon the Publick.

These Reasonings were drawn into the Form of Questions most falsely and fallaciously composed, and as falsely and fallaciously answered by themselves, which I shall take the Liberty to answer in a different Manner.

The first Question was in these Words; *1st*, Why, with one War upon your Hands, will you draw yourselves into another?

2dly, Why will you make yourselves Principals in a War, in which you ought only to be Auxiliaries?

3dly, Why do you run yourselves into Expences you can't bear, into Difficulties you will find it so hard, if not impossible to get out of, into Inconveniencies you see no End of, Pursuits where there is nothing to gain, and Struggles in which you have so much to lose?

4thly, Why, if the Queen of *Hungary* is to be farther assisted, do you, instead of sending her Money, which might assist her, expend treble the Money she would be thankful for in raising Forces that can't assist her?

5thly, Why did you dissuade the Queen of *Hungary* from listening to all Offers of Accommodation the last Summer, and particularly at the Siege of *Prague?* Why did you endeavour to prevent her accepting the Terms proposed of reciprocal Evacuation of *Bohemia* and *Bavaria*, leaving other Claims and Pretensions to future Negotiations and civil Decision, which is the End they must come to, unless these Squabbles last for ever?

6thly, Why did you embarque in this Measure, without the Junction, Consent, Approbation, or even Participation of *Holland?*

7thly, Why have you alone taken upon you the Hazards, Burthens and Expences of a Scheme, which all the Powers of *Europe* combined, would not perhaps be able to execute, and which no Power in *Europe* will assist you in?

These Questions are, by the Confession of the Author, who was known to be a capital Writer, the Substance of all they had to offer upon this Head, — and we shall now come to shew their flimsy Texture; — they are intended to pass as so many solid Facts, attended with so many irrefragable Reasons, how much they differ, from either Fact or Reason, appear by the following Reflections.

As to the first Question, we entered into the second War, because we were bound by the strongest Ties of Treaty and publick Faith to do it; — because the first War could never have been brought to a happy Conclusion without it; — because the second Enemy supported the first; — because the second Power,

without entering avowedly into that War, ſupplied, encouraged, and fomented the Difference between us and the firſt; and becauſe there is more Safety in an open Enemy, than in a falſe Friend:—becauſe the Views of the firſt and ſecond Enemy coincided with each other;—and becauſe we were certain, that the ſecond Enemy would have joined the firſt, with her whole and an irreſiſtible Force, when ſhe had finiſhed her Work in *Germany*, and that then we ſhould have had to deal with both theſe Powers, without any one Ally in the World, --- whereas, by joining againſt the ſecond, at the Time we did it, we were able to act in Conjunction with ſome of the greateſt Powers in *Europe*, and a reaſonable Expectation of the Aid of more;---becauſe the raſh Attempts of the firſt Power, partly to gratify her own wild Ambition, and partly to aſſiſt the Plan of the ſecond, had afforded us the Means, if we engaged againſt the ſecond, of ruining the Armies of the firſt, of confining her Fleets from any Poſſibility of doing us any Harm, and in fine, of diſappointing her moſt favourite Views, of exhauſting her Revenues, and of throwing her Government into Confuſion in one Campaign, more than by any other way of waging War with her to the End of the World.---All this could be only done, when we had the one War upon our Hands, by engaging in the other.

As to the ſecond Queſtion, it will ſcarce admit of any Anſwer, becauſe the Aſſertion it implies is abſolutely and notoriouſly falſe in Fact, for we have hitherto not been Principals in this War in any Senſe whatever: We have acted only as Auxiliaries to the Houſe of *Auſtria*. --- And this it ſeems I need not take the Pains to juſtify, ſince in acting as Auxiliaries, we are by Confeſſion of this Author only what we ought to be.

The third Queſtion contains a complicated Charge, to which I ſhall diſtinctly anſwer: 1*ſt*, It is as happily as it is palpably untrue, *that the Expences into which we are involved, are ſuch as we cannot bear*. For to the heavy Diſappointment of the Enemies of this Country, the great Supplies of the laſt Year have been raiſed upon Terms as low, notwithſtanding all the Arts of monied Men, and all the Terrors ſcattered by the *Faction*, as they ever were in Times of the moſt profound Peace, while the Enemy, we are engaged with, cannot raiſe the Sums he wants, at twice the Rate of Intereſt we pay: Nor are they likely to reap any greater Satisfaction, with reſpect to the Supplies in the next Seſſion. 2. *As to the Difficulties, which are foretold to be ſo hard and impoſſible to get out of*, it is now viſible that by the Steadineſs of this Parliament, and the Bleſſing of God upon our Arms, we have already proved the *Faction* to be lying Prophets, and what has already happened, ſufficiently promiſes us a full Detection of

of the Falſity of every one of their Predictions. 3. *As to the Inconveniencies we ſee no End of*, it is undoubtedly true, that no human Reaſon can preſcribe an exact Period to any War, the Inconveniencies of which muſt laſt till ſuch War is determined; but if this be an Objection, it is ſuch a one, as muſt make againſt engaging in any War, however juſt or neceſſary, in any Country or Conjuncture whatſoever. 4. We are charged *with Purſuits, where there is nothing to gain, and Struggles, in which we have ſo much to loſe.*---But can theſe Men paſs for Patriots upon the Publick, who ſay, we have *nothing to gain*, by reſtoring that faithful Ally, which is alone able to ſtem the Ambition of the *French* Monarch, the implacable and ever dangerous Enemy of this Country? or can they be thought to have either Common Senſe or Honeſty, who contend, that we ſhould lie by in time of ſuch Danger?---*When are Men to ſtruggle, but when they have ſo much to loſe, as the Trade, the Independency, the Religion, and the Freedom of their Country?*

The fourth Queſtion demands, *why we did not aſſiſt the Queen of* Hungary *with Money only?* I cannot but obſerve, that this Queſtion, conſidering the Tendency of their *former* Inſinuations, is a little unneceſſary, unleſs they doubted of the Weight *they* might have upon the Publick;---for the general Turn of their Diſcourſe has been, that it is vain to aſſiſt her, either with Men or Money. ---In good Truth, if the Subject were not of too ſerious a Nature, it would be impoſſible not to laugh at the miſerable Shifts they have been put upon to defend their wretched Cauſe. Whenever any Man of Senſe and Knowledge kept them cloſe in Argument, and urged the Faith of Treaties, the Danger of *France*, the Ruin of the Ballance, the Caſe of the Earl of *Orford* (cenſured by themſelves for neglecting theſe Conſiderations,) they confeſſed all this, and denied, that they oppoſed it; they ſaid, that they agreed in the Neceſſity of aſſiſting the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and that they differed only in the Means; yet, if ever they could faſten upon any weak, ignorant, or ill-diſpoſed Perſon in private Converſation, it was their whole Labour to convince him of the Danger, Impracticability, and Inutility of doing it at all. This was the Topick upon which their Tools and Emiſſaries were inſtructed conſtantly to entertain the People,—nay, they came at laſt to talk publickly in Parliament in the ſame diſingenuous manner, and with the ſame Inconſiſtency.— It will not be ſoon forgot, in what Manner, or how in the Debate of this very Point, their moſt eminent Directors argued, *ſome* grounding their Harangues upon this Poſition, "That the late Succeſs of the Houſe of *Auſtria* had reduced "*France* ſo low, that ſhe could not carry on the War with

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" any Proſpect of Succeſs; that the Queen of *Hungary* might " therefore make a ſafe and an honourable Peace; and that to ſup- " port her any longer would be to abet her in a War of Acqui- " ſition and Ambition, with which we ought to have no Con- " cern; *others* declaiming upon this direct contrary Principle, " that the Houſe of *Auſtria* was now reduced ſo low, that ſhe " could never more be looked upon as a proper Power to be " maintained for the Support of the Ballance againſt *France*, " and that conſequently, the Expence of aſſiſting the Queen " of *Hungary* in this View was fruitleſs and deſtructive, and " tending only to encourage *her* in *the Purſuit*, and to plunge " *ourſelves* into *the Certainty* of more immediate *Ruin*." It is unneceſſary to make any Remarks upon the Difference of the *Premiſes*; it is enough, that the *Concluſion* was the ſame from both. This kind of Reaſoning therefore, as I have already obſerved, ſeems to have rendered this Queſtion (*why we did not aſſiſt the Queen of* Hungary *with Money only of little Importance*) becauſe, according to the Doctrine we have mentioned, the proper Queſtion ſhould have rather been, *Why do we aſſiſt the Queen of* Hungary *in any way whatſoever?*—However, we ſhall follow our Gentlemen for the preſent in their own Way,—and anſwer firſt, becauſe, though ſhe might have been thankful for a third Part of the Money, which our Troops coſt us, as any Power in her late deplorable Circumſtances would have been, it was not *her Thanks*, but *her Preſervation* from immediate Ruin, it was not *her Gratitude*, but *the Recovery of her Power*, to ballance *France*, which it was our Buſineſs to procure; it muſt have been an Aid that would be *effectual*, or we ſhould have left her worſe than we found her. Now this Inſinuation, that a pecuniary Aid would have been alone effectual, is far from being true, though the whole Money, which our Armies coſt us, had been remitted to *Vienna*.---Firſt, becauſe ſuch immenſe Sums, exported out of this Country thither, would have diſtreſſed us greatly, and would have none of it return'd; it would have therefore been impracticable to have continued this Expence for any time: Whereas, by Experience of the laſt War, it was manifeſt, that very near two-thirds of the Charge of the Armies we maintained within a nearer Diſtance of this Country, returned to us again; and we have had a Proof that we can ſupport a War in this Method without any vaſt Diminution of our Specie. *2dly*, Becauſe ſuch immenſe Sums muſt, from the Nature of that Court, have been much waſted or conſumed; but, however applied, could not ſo conveniently have anſwered our Ends, becauſe we ſhould have loſt the Advantage of a Diverſion to the Forces of *France*, which

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is a Measure of the greatest Benefit in War. 3*dly*, Because we should have lost the Advantage that resulted from the Security of the Barrier, from the Encouragement of the *Dutch*, from the Protection of the States and Circles lying upon the Confines of *France*, and the Influence we have since manifestly gained upon the Diet of the Empire. 4*thly*, Because no other Measure could have put it in our Power to attack and penetrate into *France* itself, if God should prosper our Arms with any remarkable Success, and because by this Apprehension the Flower of her Armies have been consequently retained at home, and she more likely to be brought to Terms of reasonable Accommodation. 5*thly*, That by this means we availed ourselves of two great Points; *first*, of the Cavalry of the Allies, which is the best in *Europe*, and must have been for the greatest Part unemployed in this Quarrel, if the War had not been carried on in this manner; and, *secondly*, of the natural Superiority which Confederated Powers have over a single Nation, and what was our manifest Advantage in the last War, *viz.* that the Loss of Men on our Part will fall more equally, and will be less felt; while the whole Loss of *France* falls upon her own Nation, from whence alone she is able to recruit; which Circumstance, all other things supposed to be equal, must enable the Queen of *Hungary* to sustain the War longer, and with less Inconvenience than the *French*.—For whatever the Vulgar have been taught to think, the *Austrian* Dominions are by no means inexhaustible of Men;—tho' the *French* have suffered more, yet the *Austrians* have lost a great Number, and it is a certain Fact, that *France* alone contains more Inhabitants than all the Countries of the Queen of *Hungary* put together.—As to the last Assertion, *that we have raised Forces that can't assist her*, it was founded upon an infamous, wicked, and abominable Falshood, *That the Troops, with whom they acted in Conjunction, could not, nor would not, march in the Empire*, now as fully laid open, and disproved in every Respect, as it was impudently and maliciously maintained.—In fine, a full Answer to all this Trash and Ribbaldry is contained in one Word *Dettingen*, which, had they their Deserts, should be branded in the Forehead of every Member of the *Faction*.

The fifth Question is grounded upon and conveys the Assertion of a Fact, which to this Hour they cannot tell whether it be true or false; that we dissuaded the Queen of *Hungary* from listning *to all Offers of Accommodation, the last Summer, particularly at the Siege of* Prague, &c. To this I reply only, that if we did it we did wisely. None but Politicians, such as these, would have consented to a Cessation of Arms; (for these Offers

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of Accommodation in effect amounted to no more) the only View of which was to prevent the Ruin of 30,000 Regular Troops of *France*, and all the ill Conſequences ſhe ſuffered in the enſuing Campaign. Let us farther ſee upon what Terms;—*Why you, the Queen of* Hungary, *are Miſtreſs of* Bavaria, *which we cannot recover*; *we, the* French, *are Maſters of half* Bohemia, *which we cannot keep*; *give us therefore up* Bavaria, *and you ſhall have* Bohemia; *ſaving only to the Emperor, our Ally, (that is to ſay, both to us and him, a ſufficient Pretence to attack you again immediately, when we have got out of our preſent Scrape, with an additional Force) his Pretenſions to all your Dominions, the preſent Poſſeſſion of Part of* Bohemia, *and the Town of* Egra, *which is the Key to the whole*; *giving up moreover to him your Intereſt in* Swabia, (*which is little leſs than the third Part of that Circle, and has, by the Number of its Votes, the ſame kind of Influence in the Diet of the Empire, as* Cornwall *in the* Britiſh *Parliament*;) *together with the* Foreſt Towns, (*which as ſoon as you have parted with, your ancient and permanent Alliance with the* Swiſs, *by which they are tied never to act in any Capacity as Enemies againſt you, will be diſſolved*;) *then will we deliver up the City of* Prague *into your Hands.*---Now, that this City of *Prague* (out of which 10,000 of 30,000 that were there, and their beſt Cavalry a Part of that Number, never lived to return, which did not long after, and was then every Day expected to fall into the *Auſtrian* Hands,) was all that the Queen of *Hungary* could have gained by this Ceſſation, is too viſible to be denied; and it is therefore no Wonder, that ſhe was ſo obſtinate as ſhe is repreſented by the *Faction*; ſhe was not inclined to truſt to a new Capitulation with that very Body of Troops, who, had they not, contrary to all military Faith and Rules of War broke a Capitulation, by which they ſaved their Lives at *Lintz* a few Months before, could not have been at *Prague* in that Conjuncture to have demanded a ſecond Opportunity to abuſe the Mercy of this generous Princeſs. Yet, ſhortly after, it was made a Pretence againſt her for not accepting theſe abſurd Terms. The *Faction* abuſed her for it, and proclaimed that ſhe no longer merited our Aſſiſtance, that ſhe was vindictive and ambitious, and that ſhe had changed the Nature of the War, that it was now become offenſive inſtead of defenſive on her Part; that ſhe deſerved to periſh for her Folly, and our Miniſters to be hang'd for adviſing her to it:--To what?--Not to truſt to the inſidious Offers, to the Faith of that perfidious Power, Offers, that gave no Aſſurance of any Accommodation; Offers plainly calculated to enable her Enemies to fall upon her immediately after, with redoubled Force, tending only to deprive her of the happy Opportunity,

portunity, which God had presented, to give the greatest Blow to *France*, that was ever given to her in one Campaign, Offers *to bribe her by an Advantage, which was, in Fact, already in her Hands,—to be guaranty'd to her, by the Honour and Honesty of* France,—*confirmed by the additional Power of her releas'd Army, and secured by the Reservation of the Emperor's Title to all her Dominions, which the Emperor has, by his Memorials, since actually avowed as his Intention never to have departed from.* The Acceptance of such Offers may be advised by *Jacobite* Counsellors, and abetted by inconsiderate and never-to-be-unblinded *Tories*; but no honest *Englishman* can bear such flagrant and manifest Discovery of a Confederacy in this Country to promote the Views of *France*; or suffer himself, by any Pretence, to assist in the Advancement of such a Party into the Administration of Affairs, as could recommend it to be done.

Indeed these Endeavours to prevent us from availing ourselves of every Advantage against *France*, these outragious Attempts to prejudice our People against their natural Allies, this heaving with such excessive and unnatural Efforts against the Principles of Reason, Safety and Justice; all this puts it out of our Power, to deal more gently with these Men. And were it in our Power their Malice and Inveteracy to all who differ from them, deprives them of all Title to any better Treatment.—But to proceed—

Our Ministers therefore acted honestly and wisely (if they did give the contrary Advice) and unless they had been of the Principles of that *Faction*, which abandoned the *Catalonians*, and the *French Protestants* of the *Cevennes*, made the separate Peace of *Utrecht*, sacrificed their Allies, and all the Advantages of the late War, the Glory, Interest and good Faith of this Nation; and unless they had entertained the same View, the Preservation of the House of *Bourbon*, for the Service of the Pretender, they could have given no other. If this Step had not been taken, by this Time indeed we should not have had an Army in *Flanders*, nor would there have been a single Army in *Europe*, that could have ventured to have opposed the Views of *France*; the Queen of *Hungary*, attacked by the collected Force of *France*, would have clearly understood what was meant by the *future Negociations*, and the *civil Decision* then proposed to her; she must have submitted long e'er now to the Will of that relentless Power; and we should have had all our Thoughts turned vainly, and without Effect to execute the pleasant Scheme of these wise and honest Patriots, that of *entrenching ourselves in our Island against the united Power of* France *and* Spain; how long it had been before these Entrenchments had been forced, every knowing Man can easily see and understand.

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The next Queſtion is, *Why did you embark in this Meaſure without the Junction, Conſent, Approbation, or even Participation of* Holland.—This Way of inſinuating Falſhoods with an *If*, and in this Manner, has the ſame Effect upon the People, as ſo many certain Facts, and give theſe Men the Opportunity, when the Inſinuation is proved falſe, either by the Reaſon of their Adverſaries, or the Event, to ſay they only ſuggeſted what ſeemed to them the Caſe, and that they never poſitively aſſerted theſe Things.— But as they have all the Effect of poſitive Aſſertions, and as they reaſon upon them always, as if they were to be taken for granted, and for ſo many undeniable Truths, we have no other way to treat them, but to take them on our Part, as the People are intended to take them on theirs. ---Theſe Aſſertions then, are all of them either falſe, or fallacious, but if ever ſo true, the Meaſure was ſuch as the whole People (for the Reaſons I have mentioned, when I firſt entered upon this Head) with all its Inconveniences, and theſe great Uncertainties, thought themſelves reduced to an abſolute Neceſſity, by way of Experiment, to undertake.---That we did it without the Participation of *Holland*, is a glaring Untruth, for it cannot be ſoon forgot how our Miniſters were ridiculed by the *Faction*, for the preſſing Inſtances we made in *Holland*, to engage them to join with us at that Time.---And that it was without their *Junction*, *Conſent*, or *Approbation*, is very fallacious, becauſe theſe Words convey an Idea, which is abſolutely falſe, *that they refuſed* to join *at all*, *that they gave us Reaſon to believe*, *that they never would conſent*, *and that they had given us to underſtand*, *that they condemned our Undertaking*.---Whereas the Fact was only this, that they would not join in the Inſtant that we firſt deſired, ---that they would not conſent till they found that they might depend upon the Vigour and Stability of our Adminiſtration,---that they would not publickly approve of a Meaſure, in which it was not ſafe for them to engage, till they ſaw a Force ſufficient to protect them, and till they were convinced, that the Efforts of a *Faction*, which had betrayed them once before, were too weak to defeat its Effect, and to cauſe them to be left, as they were formerly, at the Mercy of the *French*.---Theſe appear to have been their only Reaſons.---This we knew at that Time by the Aſſurances of their Miniſtry to ours;---this the *French* then equally underſtood (as any Man may ſee by *Van Hoey*'s Letters;) and this is now ſo clearly demonſtrated by their actual Acceſſion to our Views, that for the future the People, if they are not infatuated, muſt be convinced, how little Dependence they ought to have upon Men, who ſcruple no wicked Arts to render them the Tools to effect their ſtill more wicked Deſigns, and

that *there may be a Neceſſity, in ſome Conjunctures, to repoſe a Confidence in the Abilities, Integrity, and Intelligence of thoſe who who direct their Affairs.*

The ſeventh Queſtion aſſerts three monſtrous Facts, equally falſe, and equally tending to the Ruin of our Country:---1ſt, *That we have taken upon us alone the Hazards, Burthens and Expences of this Scheme*; that is, of preventing *France* from being Miſtreſs of all *Europe*:---2dly, *That all the Powers in* Europe *combined would not be able* (perhaps) *to execute this Scheme*:---3dly, *That no Power in* Europe *will aſſiſt us in it.*

I am already wearied, and it is impoſſible to find Variety of Terms to expreſs the Iniquity of the Conduct of theſe Men.---All their Aſſertions are ſo exactly correſpondent with each other, that the ſame Epithets muſt be perpetually repeated, when we reflect upon them; yet it is impoſſible for honeſt Men to let ſuch Advances paſs unanſwered.---What Impudence can be ſo great as this, to ſay, that *England* alone has taken upon itſelf the Hazards, Burthens and Expences of this War?---The Houſe of *Auſtria* has now in different Parts, and in different Armies, no leſs than 180,000 Men:---Under Prince *Charles* 63,000; under other Generals in *Germany*, employed in the Sieges or Blockades of *Egra*, *Ingolſtadt*, &c. 30,000;---with the King of *Sardinia* and Count *Traun* 27,000; in *Flanders*, and upon the *Rhine*, 20,000; in the *Trentine*, and the *Tirol*, and adjacent Parts of *Bavaria*, 15,000; upon the *Adriatick*, ready to ſuccour, either the *Italian* Armies, or to be carried into the *Neapolitan* Dominions by our Fleets, 12,000; and at leaſt 13,000 Men in the Garriſons of *Auſtria*, the different Parts of *Bohemia*, *Hungary*, *Moravia*, *Servia*, *Croatia*, *Sclavonia*, *Carinthia*, *Carniola*, *Stiria*, and other Provinces which, bordering upon the *Turk*, can never be totally left unfurniſhed;---the King of *Sardinia* has above 40,000 and with his Militia above three-ſcore, which amounts at leaſt to *Two hundred and forty thouſand Men*, towards which we contributed no more than the Vote of 500,000 *l.*---Can it then be ſaid, that we alone have taken upon us the Hazards, Burthens, and Expences of this Scheme, this genuine and incontrovertible State of our Confederacy, even at the Time of this Debate, evinces better than any Scheme of Argument or Words can do, the Falſity of every one of theſe three Aſſertions.---*That we bear the whole Expence---that it is impoſſible for all* Europe *combined to prevent* France *from becoming Miſtreſs of the World---and that we have no Allies*---ſo far untrue, that ſince the Acceſſion of the *Dutch*, though as yet with no more than 28,000 Men, and his Majeſty's Quota for the Electorate of *Hanover*, (both which the *Faction* impudently aſſerted we were

never to expect,) together with the *English*, *Heſſians*, and *Hanoverians*, in the *Britiſh* Pay, we have now in this Confederacy, and actually in the Field, little leſs than 320,000 of the beſt Troops in *Europe*, which is a greater Force than *France* alone will be ever able to bring againſt us, which ſhe cannot maintain, and which, as her Troops conſiſt at preſent of the very Reliques of her exhauſted People, if they are once defeated, her Country cannot recruit again. And we are farther morally ſure, ſhould the War continue, of a much greater Aſſiſtance from other *German* States, certainly from *Ruſſia*, and not impoſſibly from even *Saxony* and *Pruſſia*. So that as our Affairs now ſtand, conſidering the total Ruin of *Bavaria*, the Inability of *Spain*, the immenſe Loſſes and Expences of *France*, which have been all waſted to little Effect, the Security of the *Turk*, the deep Reſentments, and the Stake for which the Houſe of *Auſtria* now contend, the *manifeſted Perfidy* and *detected Views* of *France*; we are in a much fairer Situation, if we avail ourſelves of it, as we ought, to reduce *France*, than we ever were in any Period of Time. The only Danger therefore to which we are now expoſed is from the Wickedneſs of this *Faction*, and the Levity and Folly of our own People, who may, by their intemperate Conduct and Impatience, induce our Miniſters to accept of indifferent Terms from *France*, (though they know that ſhe now lies in a manner at our Mercy,) rather than be compelled after yet greater and more clear Advantages to ſacrifice ſtill a fairer Proſpect. Let me therefore adjure my Countrymen, by all that they hold moſt dear and ſacred, not to concur in obſtructing and defeating this glorious Opportunity, which God has thrown before us, which if properly improved is the only likely means to ſecure us for Ages yet to come, (moſt certainly for many Years,) againſt all thoſe Expences, that have been ſo long heavy on us; againſt the Neceſſity of thoſe ſtanding Armies, which are ſo odious; and againſt thoſe Taxes, which, by the neceſſary Methods of their Collection, ſo greatly, though unavoidably, harraſs the People; which create that Dependency of which they are ſo jealous, and prevent the Diminution of that Debt, which is at preſent ſo great a Clog upon our Lands, our Commerce and our Influence abroad.--The natural Conſequences of that Succeſs, which it ſeems at this Time ſo much in our Power to enſure, will far more effectually ſecure the Conſtitution of this Kingdom, than all the Paper Guards of popular Laws. Theſe are but palliative and vain Remedies: if carried too far, tend only to aggravate the Differences and Jealouſies between *Prerogative* and *Privilege*, and may compel Government to invent new Arts of a more ſecret, and conſequently of the moſt dangerous Nature to the Liberties of every Nation.

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We have now done with our Reflections on the Conduct of the *Faction* upon this Head of the 16,000 Troops in *Flanders*; and I hope with ſome Advantage to the Publick, by the cleareſt Vindication of that Meaſure, and by the manifeſt Detection of the Views of thoſe, who oppoſed it, and ſeduced the People to be diſcontented with it, Wicked as their Conduct was in this, I know not how to deſcribe its dangerous Tendency with relation to the next Point, upon which they ſhewed themſelves. There are ſome Crimes ſo horrible, Deſigns and Views ſo infamous and ſo pernicious, that they ſecure themſelves from Detection by the Honeſty of Mankind, whoſe Ideas can ſcarce riſe to the Suſpicion that Man ſhould be guilty of them. Of ſuch a Nature was the Oppoſition of this *Faction* to the Queſtion of the *Hanoverian* Troops.

In all the Courſe of the former Oppoſition, (though no rational Man will attempt to excuſe every paſſionate Conduct of any Party,)—yet being conducted by Men, who ever ſtrictly maintained their Affection to the Royal Family upon the Throne, who knew, that its Security was the Security both of *Liberty* and the *Proteſtant Religion*, it may be affirmed, that they never endeavoured to poiſon the *Affections* of the *People* to the *Prince* upon the *Throne*.---It was the *Miniſter* they attacked only, and a *Change* of his *Perſon*, and his *Meaſures*, as we have already obſerved, were all that they encouraged the People to expect.---Had their *Prince* been guilty of any *Errors*, or ſubject to any *Infirmities* to which human Nature is expoſed, as well upon the *Throne* as in a *Cottage*, they would have thought it their Duty to have covered and concealed them all, rather than have hazarded one Grain of the Affections of the People to the Family upon the Throne.---If any Thing of this kind ever eſcaped, (and very little of it did in that Oppoſition,) it was the ſecret and never-to-be-traced Venom of *Jacobites*, who united in their Party, and abuſed the Liberty of the Preſs: but for any one of thoſe Men who are now taken into the Government, or who now act with it, who were the Leaders of the Party at that Time, they neither acted nor countenanced, nay, they kept down and deſtroyed that Tendency wherever it appeared.---Their Oppoſition was upon true Whig Principles, their Writings all tended to fix the People to theſe Principles, and one of the Reaſons why they encouraged the Spirit of Popularity and Republicaniſm, perhaps too far, was to divert the People from a contrary and fatal Turn another way.---But the Dregs of that Party, ſtripped of their Leaders, gleaned of the Whigs, by whom they were then governed, are now fallen into the Hands of Men, whoſe Principles are the very reverſe,—who

labour to deſtroy every Seed of Affection, or good Opinion in the People, towards the Royal Family.

To render this deſperate Deſign more practicable, they had thus begun to deſtroy the Senſe of the People, as to the Neceſſity of the War, and the Aſſiſtance of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, in the manner we have ſeen, that they might (and it was impoſſible to be done without it) with more Effect inſinuate, in due time, the pernicious Belief, that it was a War engaged in merely for the Intereſts of *Hanover* alone.

They flattered themſelves that the Time was now come.--- The Preſs ſwarmed with ſuch treaſonable Pamphlets, as were never ventured, or ever known to be publiſhed in any Age or Nation.--The King's Perſon was in Ballads, and Libels attacked with a Licence, which never was taken, even in the great Rebellion, when the King and the Nation were in actual War upon each other. It was now aſſerted publickly, and in Print, [a] *That the Intereſts of* Britain *had been ſteered, ever ſince the Acceſſion of this Family, by the Rudder of* Hanover.--[b] *That the Intereſts of* Great Britain *had been conſtantly and manifeſtly ſacrificed, for many Years, to that of the Electorate.*--- [c] *That the Intereſts of* Hanover *had been the Touchſtone of all our Meaſures ſince the Acceſſion.*--- [d] *That* Great Britain *had been hitherto ſtrong and vigorous enough to bear up* Hanover *on its Shoulders, and though now waſted and wearied out with the continued Fatigue, ſhe was ſtill goaded on, as if already ſold to Vaſſallage, and by Compulſion obliged to perſiſt in the ungrateful Drudgery, without Hope of, or Title to, Redemption,--- and forced* [e] *to ſubmit to the Ignominy of becoming only a Money Province to that Electorate.--That nobody could or did indeed wonder at the Affection his late Majeſty expreſſed for his native Country, and nobody blames the Tenderneſs his preſent Majeſty preſerves for it: Both of them had their Beings and their firſt Impreſſions in it. Nor would it be ſurpriſing,--if the Succeſſor ſhould have ſome Prædilection for the Meridian in which he was born and educated, but it is a terrible Doctrine, that of being a pecuniary Province to a little State upon the Continent, deſtined only to bolſter up its Pride, ſupply its Indigence, and gratify its frivolous Ambition, to laviſh away, upon a puny hopeleſs ſtunted Child, the Nouriſhment neceſſary to ſupport the healthy and thriving one---*[f] *Exhauſted and beggared as we are already, a ſervile Submiſſion, and the breaking and taming of the true* Engliſh *Spirit, may poſſibly be thought the next Thing neceſſary*;

[a] Caſe of *Hanover* Troops, fol. 30. [b] The Intereſt of *Hanover*, fol. 19. [c] Ibid. fol. 51. [d] Caſe of the *Hanover* Troops, fol. 71. [e] Ibid. fol. 83. [f] Caſe of the *Hanover* Troops, fol. 54.

ſary ; in order to which, the Intereſt and Influence of Hanover *are no longer now to be diſguiſed or concealed, but openly avowed as the Rule of our Conduct, and the Spring of our Actions.*--[a] *Lured by an inſatiable Thirſt of Gain, in whatever Shape ; in love with military Spectacles, and to make a Soldier-like Figure in the Field,* Hanover *may proceed as far as a March, or a Counter-march more would be too much.*---[b] *Will you loſe the Affections, and exhauſt the Strength of your Kingdom, for the Addition of a Bailliage to the Electorate.*---[c] *We have too much good Senſe to be ſo impoſed upon, too much Spirit not to reſent the very Attempt, and too much Diſcretion to beggar ourſelves for the ſake of an Infant, which has been a Snare and a Curſe to us from the Beginning.*—This is the venomous Stile, theſe are the very individual Words and Language of this deteſtable Set of Men, ſet forth not only in their Speeches, both within the Houſe and without, but publiſhed in the Face of Government, and to the World, delivered to the People as their Creed, inculcated as the Fundamentals of their Political Faith, written by their moſt eminent Men, avowed by them, recommended, and with amazing Induſtry ſpread through the remoteſt Corners of the united Kingdom. I have referred to the Pamphlets themſelves, and to the Pages, that I may not be accuſed of Miſrepreſentation ; (the Books are in every Man's Hands,) for they who are capable to aſſert this, are baſe enough to deny it when they have done it.

Let us now ſee upon what Pretences, and upon what imminent Danger, this Fire, Fury, and Treaſon, dared to avow itſelf, to expect Countenance of the People, or to eſcape its Puniſhment.--It was for this, and this alone, becauſe *the Miniſters had taken* 16,000 Hanoverian *Auxiliaries into* Britiſh *Pay, to ſerve in the Quarrel againſt the Houſe of* Bourbon, *and to ſupport the Houſe of* Auſtria. Without which we have ſo fully demonſtrated that it could not in that Conjuncture have been ſupported, or the Ballance of *Europe* ſaved from utter Ruin.

The Articles of Impeachment drawn up againſt the King of *England*, (for the Attack was now puſhed to the Foot of the Throne itſelf) were theſe :

1ſt, *That the King and his Father, Electors of* Hanover, *having no Regard nor Paternal Affection to their* Britiſh *Dominions, had falſely and treacherouſly, to their People of* England, *betrayed their Intereſts, and by a corrupt Majority in Parliament, had ſacrificed the Wealth, Treaſure, Security, Liberty and Reputation of this Country, by one continued Series of uninterrupted Meaſures, to the contemptible Intereſt of their* Hanoverian *Dominions.*

[a] A Vindication of the Caſe of the *Hanover* Troops, fol. 29.
[b] Ibid. fol. 54. [c] Caſe of *Hanover* Troops, fol. 72.

2dly,

2dly, *That to give the finishing Blow, to perfect this long-laboured and indefatigable Undertaking, and to gratify an Avarice insatiable, his present Majesty had hired* 16,000 *of his* Hanoverians *under a Pretext of composing an Army of Auxiliaries for the Service of the House of* Austria.

3*dly*, That at the Time he did this, [a] *he was convinced of the Impracticability of raising this Phantom of the House of* Austria, *to be again in a Condition of ballancing the House of* Bourbon.

4*thly*, That at the same time,—[b] *He knew too well, that it is against the Interest of every Prince in* Germany, *and even of the King of* Sardinia *himself, that such an Event should take place.*

[c] 5*thly*, That he had done this:—*When the Queen of* Hungary *became not only successful in her own Enterprizes, but found Means to disengage* Prussia *and* Saxony *from* France, *nay, even* France *herself became perplexed and entangled to such a Degree, as to find herself obliged to offer Terms to the Queen of* Hungary, *for the saving both her Forces and her Honour.*

6*thly*, [d] That he had been guilty of a Conduct *to the last Degree impolitick, to say no worse, not to advise that Princes to accept the Offers of* France, (viz. *to save both the Forces and Honour of* France,) *with which Terms*, Prussia, Saxony, *and every Prince in the Empire, but one, are satisfied.*

7*thly*, [e] That he had persisted in this Scheme of hiring 16,000 of his *Hanoverian* Troops, *though from the Moment that the Queen of* Hungary *rejected these Offers, the Interest, and (of course) the Policy of the* Dutch, *was changed, the Dread of* France, *and its being to be paid, at the Expence of their Barrier, was lost.*

8*thly*, That therefore he had violated *the invariable Maxim (i. e.* the Maxim laid down by the *Faction* to serve the present Purpose) *never to enter into a Land War, but when the* Dutch *Barrier was in Danger:* And that *he knew very well*, because the *Dutch* stood out, *there was no real Necessity for our medling at all.*

9*thly*, That he had done this, *when he knew the* Dutch *would never join us, which it was evident they would not, because they had not.*

10*thly*, That he had done this, though by the Laws of the Empire, *he knew that these Troops neither would nor ought to march into* Germany *in Aid of the Queen of* Hungary, *and tho' he knew they could be of no Use to her in* Flanders, *nor any where else.*

[a] Case of *Hanover* Troops, fol. 51. [b] Ibid. fol. 52. [c] Ibid. fol. 49. [d] Ibid. fol. 53. [e] Ibid. fol. 49.

11*thly*,

11*thly*, That he had done all this *contrary to the Senſe of Parliament, and in a manner that violated the Conſtitution and Privilege of Parliament.*

There are but three Inſtances in all the Hiſtory of this Country, of Articles of this Nature brought by the Subject againſt the Prince; in the Reigns of *Edward* the Second, *Richard* the Second, and *Charles* the Firſt; and in every one of theſe it was by Parliament, and after the Prince was virtually or actually depoſed; but ſuch an Arraignment of any Prince, while he ſat upon his Throne, and had the Approbation of his Parliament for every Meaſure that he took, was never paralleled in this or any other Country.

And when we conſider, not only the malevolent and deſperate Tendency of this Charge, how the Facts have been miſrepreſented, how the Events have ſhewn the Falſhood of almoſt every Article that is here laid down, and how obvious the Anſwer is to every one of the reſt; when we conſider the Views (to which they directly led) of Ruin to the Peace and to the Intereſt of this Country both at home and abroad;—who can ſay, that the Authors of this wicked Conduct, who now ſtile themſelves by the gentle Term of *Oppoſition*, are charged by too harſh an Appellation, when they are proclaimed by the Name and Title of *a Faction.*

A Faction they are and muſt appear to every cool and honeſt Man the worſt in their Deſigns, the moſt daring in their Attempts on Government, and the leaſt warranted by any Pretence or Shew of Reaſon, that ever reared its monſtrous Creſt in this Nation.

To obſerve, as it might be done, upon the *Inconſiſtencies*, *falſe Concluſions*, and *Abſurdities*, contained in each Article of the Charge above-mentioned, would be to provoke *Mirth*, inſtead of that *Horror* which ought to ariſe upon this Proceeding, and would divert that *Attention*, and *deep Reflection*, which the Nation ought to have upon the *Danger* they are in from the Practices of theſe Men.—As to every Point that may ſeem to have the leaſt Colour of Objection, I have purpoſely anſwered before, in the former Pages of this Work, that I might not interrupt that Reflection, and for the ſame Reaſon I ſhall here cloſe my Account of the farther Conduct of theſe Men, with reſpect to this *memorable Queſtion of the* Hanoverian Troops; to which Conduct nothing could add Aggravation, ſince its pernicious Intention manifeſtly was no other, than *by one uniform Proceeding, to dethrone his Majeſty in the Hearts of his People, that they might the more eaſily detrude him afterwards from the Throne itſelf, and to preſerve the Houſe of* Bourbon, *in a Condition to place a Succeſſor*

Succeſſor in his ſtead. In which View, they likewiſe gave all Obſtruction in their Power to the Supplies, and to every Way and Means to raiſe them.

But we are now, by farther Circumſtances of the laſt Seſſion, to ſhew how they have impoſed upon Mankind; —particularly in thoſe three Points, by which they had duped the Publick to adhere to them, and to give up their Senſes like an infatuated People with Regard to Foreign Affairs; *viz.* the *Place-Bill*, the *Triennial Law*, and the Inquiry into the Conduct of the Earl of *Orford*;—as to the *laſt* it is notorious, that they moved it only as a *Matter of Form*, and ſupported it in a Manner, that ſhewed it was a *mere* Farce; nay, they actually attempted, to take Advantage of the Union, which could not at once be rendered perfect between the Members formerly attached to his Party, and thoſe that were lately admitted into the Adminiſtration, by giving ſufficient Hints of a Diſpoſition to treat with him not only for his Indemnity, but for his Readmiſſion into Power again, upon Condition of being employed themſelves; to which they applied themſelves in an open and unguarded Manner, diſcovering in no one Point (after this Form was paſſed) the leaſt real Inclination to prejudice him further; on the contrary treating his Friends with an affected Diſtinction of Reſpect, directing all their ſcurrilous Speeches and Invectives ſolely againſt the *new Part of the Adminiſtration*, nay, comparing *their* Conduct with *that* of the former Miniſter, not only with an Advantage, given in the Compariſon, to the former, but with Encomiums from the Mouths of their Principal Orators, upon his Wiſdom, Moderation and tender Regard to the Intereſt of his Prince and Country. Whoever ſat in the laſt Seſſions of this Parliament will bear me witneſs as to what I aſſert; but they did it ſo groſsly, that it is almoſt paſt the Belief of thoſe, who did not ſee and hear it, and ſo as to ſhew manifeſtly that they conceived the Capacities of their Audience in Parliament, to be as dull and capable of Impoſition, as thoſe of the Herd they had ſo fatally and ſucceſsfully practiſed upon without: But they were miſtaken here; they had there to deal with *Whigs*, who can never be impoſed upon by theſe Men, who have experienced them too long, and know them too well, to truſt them in any Shape, which *Proteus*-like they are ready to aſſume to attain their private Ends. Even the Miniſter himſelf was contented with what he thought a better Security, the *Affection* of his old Friends, and the *Principles* of the new Part of the Adminiſtration, which would not ſuffer them to inflict any Puniſhment or to take Revenge upon any Man whatever, whoſe Deſtruction, from a Chain of Conſequences, and

and the Ferment of a Nation, thus inflamed by these Incendiaries, must have brought Confusion upon their Country. He thought it more safe to rely upon the good Sense and Honesty of his declared Enemies, than to confide in the Faith of a *Faction*, whose Practise and Principle it was to deceive and to betray. The *old Part of the Administration*, though (from a natural Exultation in the Security, which the Folly and Wickedness of these Men, had beyond their Expectation insured for them,) they might divert themselves, and express some Pleasure to see this Turn in their Favour, and to find the Burden of Abuse retorted upon those, who had not long before been very liberal of it to them, still knew this never-to-be-forgotten Truth, that neither they nor the Nation could be safe at any Time, without the Union of the *Whigs*; and could not stand without it for one Hour, in the present State of Things. The same Knowledge induced the *new Part of the Administration* to bear with Patience all this Malice of the opposite Party, and the disagreeable Circumstance of being not entirely well treated by those they co-operated with: they considered these things to be as unavoidable, as it was certain, on the other hand, that Time would by Degrees redress this temporary Inconvenience; and they comforted themselves with this happy Reflection, that the Benefit which had accrued to the Nation, was singly owing to the *Firmness* of their *former*, and the *Moderation* of their *present* Conduct; that any *Good* unattained, or any *Evil*, likely to ensue, was the Off-spring of the Wickedness, Passions and Folly of other Men; and that the Success and Prudence of their Measures, had maintained the Balance of Power *abroad*, and the Interest both of their King and Country *at home*. By this visible Insincerity of these pretended Patriots, the Publick ought, and will, if they are not wholly blinded, see that *the further Success of this Enquiry is an impracticable thing, that it is not owing to those upon whom they cast the popular Odium of it, and that it is now palpably kept in Reserve only for a Subject of Distraction and Disunion of the honest Part of this Nation.*

Now as to the *Place-Bill*.—How ridiculous it is for these Men, (who embarked in the present *Faction* avowedly upon the Account that they had not been the very first of the late Opposition taken into Employment) to be the Persons entrusted by the People of *England* to obtain for them what they desire, in this Respect, wants nothing to give it Illustration; yet, if it wanted any, it would receive it from the faint Attempt of the *Faction* to compass this Point, which was visibly no more than to maintain the Shew of their Professions, and far from being carried on with that Warmth and Spirit which they

exerted in the other Purſuit of diſtreſſing the Government in every Step and Shape in the Proſecution of the neceſſary, juſt, important and practicable View of recovering the Weight, Influence, loſt Honour, and Security of this Nation, with Regard to its Affairs abroad :—How therefore can the People be deluded with their Pretences to procure what theſe Demagogues have put it out of the Power of any body to procure for them, and what ſo manifeſtly appears they have no real Intention to procure themſelves, were it in their Power? ---It is therefore evident, that this Point is likewiſe now only maintained for the ſame Views of Diſunion and Diſtraction.

Their Conduct, as to the Point of a *Triennial Parliament*, clears this up yet more plainly.—Theſe Men have not ſo much as followed the *Inſtructions*, which they themſelves *inſtructed* the People to inſiſt upon ;—for they never once attempted, or made any Motion, during the whole laſt Seſſions, towards the Repeal of the *Septennial Law*,—which is to be accounted for no other Way, than that they found an infinite Majority diſpoſed againſt it, or that they themſelves were not ſincere in their Profeſſions for it.—Both theſe were indeed their Reaſons, and either might be ſufficient to open the Eyes of Men.—But as to the latter, we have already ſhewn, that their chief People voted directly againſt it themſelves, when it was propoſed in the preceding Seſſions,—and they muſt either have acted counter to themſelves, which would have expoſed them too much, while their former Votes were freſh in every Man's Memory, or have detected this great Truth, to thoſe whom they laboured ſtill to deceive, that they never themſelves intended it ſhould paſs.—What Dependance then, or what juſt Proſpect can the People have to compaſs this favourite View, by the Aid of thoſe Men to whom they have abandoned their Senſe and Reaſon, and every Thing that is moſt dear, from the idle Expectation that they will obtain it for them?

If then the People of this Country may ſo clearly ſee, that theſe Points are, from every Circumſtance, and above all, from the former Imprudence, and the preſent deceitful Conduct of this Set of Men, not poſſible to be attained.—Why do they perſiſt *to imagine a vain thing?*—If their Oppoſition, as from what I have obſerved, is moſt undoubtedly the Caſe, cannot tend to procure theſe Things for them ;—for what is their Perſeverance in that Oppoſition, *but for Oppoſition ſake?*—Or what Effect can it produce, but the Prevention of a certain important Good, *the Eſtabliſhment of a perfect, permanent, and almoſt deſpaired of Security, as to our Foreign Affairs?*—Which would any rational Man reject, (conſidering moreover the irretrievable

trievable Condition we ſhall be reduced to if we ſhould loſe this happy Opportunity) for the ſake of the Pleaſure of *Oppoſition only?* —Can any Man juſtify this deluſive Entertainment of the Multitude, with Projects, which in his Soul he knows *impracticable*, and which, if *practicable*, are undoubtedly both of the *niceſt Nature*, and of very *dangerous* and *uncertain* Operation, from the unforeſeen Conſequences that attend all great Alterations in the Government of all Countries?—Or will any honeſt Man think himſelf intitled to lay the Seeds of ſuch Diviſions and Diſcontents in this Nation, as manifeſtly tend to ſhake the Foundations of the Monarchy, and the Conſtitution of this Country, for the ſake of *Oppoſition only?*—This is all the Fruit the People can at this time hope to reap from it,—their Leaders indeed may hope another,—what that is, the Tenor of their Conduct plainly manifeſts, and that it is both of a *publick* and *private* Nature.--But will the People be allured to abet ſuch Views for the *Publick*, or is it worth their while to hazard and to ſacrifice ſo much for the *private Views* of ſuch pretended Patriots?

I might content myſelf, if I only wrote to reaſonable Men, and to Men in their right Senſes, with this full Detection of the corrupt and peſtilent Views of this Faction, and with this Evidence of their Want of Capacity, as well as Inclination, to compaſs any thing but the Ruin of this Nation both at Home and Abroad. But as I write to Men heated and inflamed with Paſſion, to a giddy and unthinking Multitude, elated with their late Succeſs, and thence liable to misjudge of their Abilities, and to think that practicable which in a cooler State they will plainly ſee to be wholly out of their Power,—as, ſo long as they ſhall think their Pretenſions to be juſt and neceſſary, they will never deſiſt from the vain Purſuit; and as, by this Means, the Nation will be harraſſed with the moſt fatal and endleſs Confuſion, I ſhall now, with the utmoſt Candour, Honeſty and Truth, endeavour to give them a juſter View of thoſe falſe Opinions, which in ſome very important Points, they ſo vainly, and yet ſo paſſionately entertain; though it may claſh with the Popular Opinion, ſo as to draw down the worſt Inconveniences upon myſelf; though it may even diſgrace the Judgment, or create ſome unjuſt Reflection upon the Sincerity of others, as ſubjecting them to the Imputation of having maintained Doctrines which were in themſelves erroneous, or even ſuch as they knew to be ſuch. Candour, Honeſty, and true Patriotiſm, will make it rather a Matter of Honour than Shame in theſe Men, to ſubmit to theſe Inconveniencies; nay, even to make a fair Acknowledgment, either of their Miſtakes, or Faults, rather than by a

falſe Deſire of appearing *conſiſtent*, to be really *inconſiſtent*, in their moſt capital Profeſſion, and Intention, that of *ſupporting*, *in every Event*, *and at every Hazard*, *the true Intereſt and Happineſs of* Britain.

We have already obſerved in another Place, that the Views of the *Jacobites* had been ſo univerſally exploded by their infamous Conduct during the laſt four Years of the Queen, and by the Proof that aroſe of their dangerous Deſigns, from the Rebellion, that broke out ſoon after; and the Nation was ſo univerſally convinced of the Danger of that Faction, had ſeen ſuch Conſequences from their pretended Patriotiſm, and thought themſelves ſo happy in that critical Deliverance; that our Government enjoyed a Tranquillity beyond the Experience of any former Time. The *Jacobite* Spirit and the *Republican* Temper of the People, both ſeemed in a Manner to have been annihilated by the different Inconveniences they had in the Space of threeſcore Years, alternately brought upon the People; the Concurrence therefore of the whole Nation made the Government ſo ſtrong, and the Adminiſtration of Affairs ſo eaſy; that it tempted the late Miniſter to wanton in his Power, to diſoblige many able and conſiderable Men, to deſpiſe the People, to be guilty of Miſmanagement in the Conduct of our Revenue, and to form Projects for the raiſing of Money, without due Attention to the Tenderneſs and Suſpicions of the People upon any Encreaſe of Influence or Power; till by this Conduct, by attempting to engroſs more than he could execute, and by undertaking to manage Foreign Affairs, which he little underſtood; our Condition inſenſibly grew very deſperate both at home and abroad, and yet the People ſeemed inſenſible of this to ſuch a Degree, and made ſo conſtant a Choice of thoſe he recommended, that moſt Men thought their Spirit greatly changed and broken, and that it was neceſſary to rouſe them from the Lethargy they ſeemed to be in. This honeſt Apprehenſion made them not afraid to animate the People by Diſcourſes of a *Republican* Turn; —the Liberties of *Europe* were upon the Brink of irretrievable Ruin, and if theſe were loſt, the Liberties of *Britain* could not ſtand:—Any means, that were not more dangerous than immediate Ruin, were thought lawful to be uſed, to effect this Change; the Means they uſed, far from ſeeming dangerous, appeared falſe to them, and to have a Tendency to bend the People from that Pile, which, upon all our late Diſorders, had appeared to caſt very dangerouſly another Way.--But their Zeal undoubtedly hurried them too far in this Reſpect. We have ſpoken freely of the *Faults* and *Errors* of the *late Miniſter*; we

ſhall

ſhall not ſcruple to ſpeak with the ſame Freedom of the *Oppoſition to him.* This was at leaſt an *Error*, if not a *Fault* in them, ---and the Publick at this Hour feel its bad Effect.

For the People have been ſo heated with Diſcourſes of this kind, that they have taken that, which was the *Means* to be the *End* and *View* of Oppoſition. The great and original End and View of their Oppoſition, was to *change the Miniſter*, and to *change the Meaſures*; but the People now having got theſe *Ends*, and carried this *View*, conſider them only as the Means to get in effect what no prudent Man ever wiſh'd or intended they ſhould get, *the whole Power of this Government, and the whole Conſtitution into their own Hands.*

Moreover, by the Ferment that has ariſen in this Nation, it has manifeſtly appeared, that neither the Spirit of the People is ſo low, nor the Power of the Crown ſo high, as both were imagined by many to have been during the Courſe of that Oppoſition. It appears, that the People are ſtill able to remove a bad Miniſter, and to force a Change of Meaſures, whenever it becomes the univerſal Senſe, that the Miniſter and the Meaſures are really wrong; the Liberty and Power therefore of the popular Intereſt in this Country is inconteſtible, and as great as it is neceſſary or ought to be in any. To change the Ballance of the Conſtitution is not their Right, nor ought thoſe Alterations to be made, which would enable them to do it.

It appears further, that the Views of the popular Intereſt, inflamed, diſtracted and miſguided as it has been of late, by thoſe into whoſe Hands it has unhappily fallen, are ſuch as they were never imagined to have been; a Party of Male-contents (by the Sufferance of the moſt ignorant and uninformed) aſſuming to themſelves, though very falſely, the Title of the People, claim with it a Pretenſion, which (were their Title juſt,) no People could have a Right to claim, erecting themſelves into a new Order in the State, affecting a Superiority to the whole Legiſlature; inſolently taking upon them, to dictate to all the three Eſtates, in which, the abſolute Power of the Government, by all the Laws of this Country, has indiſputably reſided ever ſince it was a Government, repining at every Decree they make; endeavouring to animate the People, in effect, to reſume into their own Hands, that vague and looſe Authority, which exiſts (unleſs in Theory) in the People of no Country upon Earth, the Inconvenience of which is ſo obvious, that it is the firſt Step of all Mankind, as ſoon as formed into Society, to diveſt themſelves of it, and to delegate it for ever from themſelves:—A Power, which could not be permitted

mitted even in a Society of 500 Families, impracticable in a great Empire, and therefore an ideal Doctrine, tending to no Point or Purpoſe whatſoever, but to caſt this Nation into the moſt horrible Confuſion, and to throw it back into a State of Nature. That has likewiſe appeared, which nothing can diſcover but Revolutions or Conjunctures, that approach ſo near them as this has done; viz. *that though the Influence of the Crown has ſeemed for ſome Years to have increaſed viſibly, the popular Intereſt has been for many Years inviſibly encreaſing in a far greater Proportion.* The greateſt Changes in all States are wrought by certain Alterations in the Circumſtances and Properties of the People; which eſcape the moſt penetrating Eye, till Time and Accidents have ripened them to a proper Criſis. The Convulſions of Nations are like the Shocks of ſubterraneous Fires, formed by an Aſſemblage of combuſtible Materials, long collecting, and unſuſpected till the very Moment of their fatal Exploſion; the *Effects* are therefore the only means by which ſuch *Cauſes* can be learned: The *Republican* Spirit ſo ſtrangely riſen as we have lately ſeen it, that to work its Ends, it has prepoſterouſly joined with its Antipathy the *Jacobite*, directs us ſurely to this *Cauſe*; which can be no other than the great Encreaſe of Property in the People. The *Revenues of the Crown*, however magnified, we ſhall preſently come to ſhew, have borne no Proportion to it, the *Encreaſe of the Peerage*, either in *Property* or *Number*, (notwithſtanding the Additions that have been made ſince the Revolution,) partly from the great Caution of the Crown for many Years paſt, and partly from a weak and miſtaken Prejudice in their own Body to the Extenſion of Honours, have in no degree kept pace with it; and the Lords are hardly now of any Poize in this Government. Induced by the Circumſtances of the Time, to examine the Point, it is viſible beyond all Power of Contradiction, that this has been the Caſe.—At the *Revolution* the Numbers of the People were computed nearly at *Six Millions*, and by the long Peace, and neceſſary Encreaſe of Procreation, this Number cannot be *at preſent* leſs than *Seven*, or in that Proportion; the Expence of the People per Head was about *Seven* Pounds at the *Revolution*, at *this Time* it is univerſally agreed, that this Expence amounts to *Ten*. Now as the Revenue of the People muſt infallibly be at leaſt as much as the People ſpend, it follows, that the Revenue of the People was at the Revolution *Forty-two Millions*, and that it is *Seventy Millions* now: The People have therefore encreaſed in their annual Income *Twenty-eight Millions* (or in that Proportion) ſince the Revolution; and as it

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is a Maxim inconteſtible in Politicks, that Power always follows Property, which muſt ſooner or later operate in every Country, it is manifeſt, that the People have acquired in the Space of fifty Years, more ſolid Weight in the Scale of this Conſtitution, than they could have gained, or can gain by all the popular Laws, that ever were made, or can be made in their Favour to the End of Time.

Before I proſecute this Argument, to the Concluſion which I intend from it, perhaps it may be thought neceſſary to explain a little, how it came to paſs, that this Growth of the Popular Intereſt ſhould be ſo little perceived till now.—It happens in all ſuch Caſes as it has happened in this, and for the ſame Reaſon,—the Spirit of the People riſing with their Circumſtances, creates Difficulties to Government, of which it feels the Effects, long before it apprehends the Cauſe. Theſe Difficulties in a manner drive Government to exerciſe all its Authority, and to uſe many Arts in its own Defence, by which the People who do not ſee the Neceſſity it is under to do this, condemn, and conſider as Attempts offenſive, when they are in reality defenſive.—The Inſults of the one, and the Arts of the other therefore both encreaſe, till neither think themſelves ſecure, (which is the Misfortune, and in long run the Ruin of all mixed Governments) without new Laws, to encreaſe Power on the one Hand, and Privilege on the other.—And, for a time, it is very evident, why the Government is rather more ſucceſsful than the Popular Intereſt in theſe Attempts, becauſe the Generality of Men finding themſelves eaſy in the general Proſperity, and obſerving no material Change in the written Conſtitution, rather chuſe to ſupport the Government, though they do not approve all its Proceedings, than to abet the Popular Views,---the Peace of Society being (at leaſt for the Time) ſecured by the firſt, and always endangered by the laſt.---But, in the long run, Accidents will happen, which will either change the Perſons of thoſe in this moderate and cautious Way of Thinking, or diſtract their Principles, or confound their Judgments,---and when this happens, the Popular Spirit, having once made the Breach, blows up the Dam at once, and deſtroys, in one Hour, the Works that have been an Age erecting, to reſtrain it within its due Bounds: Thus, for want of an exact Knowledge of the different Nature of the Force, which Government employs againſt the People, and that of the Popular Intereſt againſt the Government; and from this Circumſtance, that the *one* is *viſible* in every Step of its Encreaſe, the *other latent* and *concealed*; and from hence, that *the one*, by

its gradual and conſtantly oppoſed Progreſs, is not only obſerved, but magnified, while *the other* encreaſes inſenſibly, and without either Oppoſition or Perception, it becomes, from the Nature of the Thing, extremely difficult for any, and entirely impoſſible for the Generality of Men, not to be deceived in the Condition of the Conſtitution, under Circumſtances ſuch as theſe. Something will ariſe from an impartial and judicious Reflection upon theſe Particulars, very deſerving the Attention of all reaſonable Men. And the Judgment which muſt reſult from it, can be defeated by nothing but a Diſcovery, that the Crown has encreaſed in the ſame Proportion of Power as the Popular Intereſt has ſo manifeſtly done; in this Caſe there is nothing in all this Argument; but if it has not, *the Ballance undeniably preponderates on the Side of the People, more than it did at the Revolution*, that is to ſay, more than it ever did in any Period of our Government, *and conſequently the Diſcontents of the People, ſo far as they are founded upon a contrary Suppoſition, are moſt unreaſonable, unjuſt, and dangerous.*

In order to determine this Point, all that is neceſſary to be done, is, to conſider in what the Power of the Crown has been encreaſed ſince the Æra of the Revolution, there are but three Particulars in which it could poſſibly receive Addition, in the *Encreaſe of its Civil Liſt*; *in the Influence of additional Employments*; and laſtly, *in poſitive Laws in Favour of Prerogative*; of all theſe the firſt, which is *the Property* of the *Crown* muſt be in its Operation the moſt conſiderable, from what we have already obſerved as to the Effect of Property. This is therefore the Point, which we are to conſider firſt, and with moſt Attention:—But we muſt previouſly obſerve, that the Reaſon why we go no higher than the Æra of the Revolution is, becauſe though no Civil Liſt was ſettled before, the Civil Liſt Expences were enormouſly great, the Publick Charge being not above 700,000 *l. per Annum*, and the Revenue being above *Two Millions* from the Reſtoration to that Time.

Now as to the Encreaſe of the Power of the Crown from an Addition to its Property, it can conſiſt in nothing but the *Civil Liſt*; the Crown having no Ability, as it had before the Revolution, (when the publick Revenue and the *Civil Liſt* were both in the Diſpoſition of the Crown, and not divided,) to apply one ſingle Shilling of that publick Revenue to any Uſe, but to that for which it is appropriated.—Let us therefore examine the Quantum of the *Civil Liſt*.

Upon the firſt Face of this Examination, the Power of the Crown appears to be encreaſed, for the *Civil Liſt* is now 800,000 *l.*

800,000 *l. per Ann.* whereas in the Reign of * King *William*, and the late Queen it was but 700,000 *l.* But when this Point is duely conſidered it is indiſputable, not only that this is no *real* Encreaſe to the Power of the *Crown*, but that this Power is diminiſhed, notwithſtanding the *nominal* Addition to this *Revenue*.

King *William* and Queen *Anne*, as we have already obſerved, had but 700,000 *l. per Annum* ; but *neither* had any Family to provide for, and *both* lived in Times, when that Income would have ſupported a greater Expence, than *a Million* would now do ; for the Truth of which, I appeal to the Experience of every private Family, and to the known Advance of Price in all Commodities and Articles of Expence whatſoever.—Excluſive therefore of the great Deduction, which ariſes from the Expence of his Majeſties numerous Progeny, there is, in fact, inſtead of an Encreaſe of Power to the Crown in the Proportion of 100,000 *l.* a manifeſt Diminution of it in the Proportion of 200,000 *l.* which is the Sum deficient to make up a *Civil Liſt* equivalent (conſidering the Difference of the Times) to that of King *William*, or of the late Queen.

And indeed without a Conſideration of the Difference of the Times, no fair or juſt Eſtimate is poſſible to be made upon this Subject ; every Century creates a mighty Alteration in this Reſpect. In the Time of the Conqueror the King's Revenues are reckoned by all the old Hiſtorians to have been enormous, and were computed at 1060 *l. per Diem*, which amounts to 386,900 *l. per Annum* ; and we might therefore with the ſame Juſtice reaſon, that a Revenue at that Amount would be now too great, as to argue that the *Civil Liſt* ſhould not be greater now than it was forty or fifty Years ago ; the Objections therefore, that have been made of late upon this Head, have been fallacious to the higheſt Degree, and either they, who have liſtned to them, never conſidered the Point as it ought to be conſidered, or have *ſecretly intended*, inſtead of keeping the Power of the Crown to its ancient Standard, *to reduce it lower than it ever ſtood in any Period of our Government*.

But when we look a little farther into this matter, however clear this Argument may be, we have no need much to inſiſt

* At the Revolution the *Civil Liſt* was ſettled at 600,000 *l. per Ann.* but this being very deficient to anſwer the Charges upon that Head, the Parliament in 1695 granted the King a Sum of 500,000 *l.* to pay his Debts, and in 1699, *Anno* 9 & 10 *Gul.* III. *cap.* 23. though the Queen was then dead, found it neceſſary to encreaſe the *Civil Liſt* to 700,000 *l. per Ann.*

upon it; for since the late Alteration of the Ministry, the Encrease of the Appointments of the Prince of *Wales*, has wholly taken away this Objection; his Royal Highness now enjoying his complete Allowance of 100,000 *l. per Annum*, which is the whole of that *nominal* Encrease of the *Civil List*, above what it formerly was before his Majesty's Accession. When this comes to be considered, the Power of the Crown, with respect to Property, is not at all increased, even its first Aspect; but is on the other Hand, when justly compared in all its Circumstances, greatly and undeniably *decreased*, since the Period I have mentioned. Yet such is the malignant Temper of this Age, that we have more to combat than Arguments and Facts— *Bonaque ac Mala non sua Natura, sed Vocibus Seditiosorum æstimantur* [a]; Insinuations of a malicious Tendency have Weight superior to all the Reason in the World, and we must fight through these upon every Turn. Of this Nature is that vaunted Assertion in *The Case of the* Hanover *Troops* [b], of the late Queen's Generosity in a Present made by her out of the *Civil List* of 100,000 *l.* in one Year, towards carrying on the War with *France*; and from hence an oblique Argument is attempted to be drawn of a Superabundance in the present *Civil List*, and an indirect Reflection, both upon the Misapplication of the Surplus, and the Want of an equal Tenderness to the Publick in his present Majesty; it is further manifest with what a wicked Intention this invidious Comparison is made, from the officious Care of that infamous Author to remind the Reader, that that Princess was a Daughter of King *James* II. and from the Tendency of his whole Performance, which is plainly calculated to incline the People to regret the Loss of that Family, by a Side Wind to trumpet the Fame of his own Faction, and to recommend it to the ignorant and deluded Multitude; the Queen being notoriously, at that Time, in the Leading-strings of *Jacobites*.

It is impossible sufficiently to admire either at their Confidence or their Impudence in this Mention of a Particular, which can be so strongly retorted upon them: In fact, this pretended Generosity was one of the most scandalous Actions, that the Crown was ever led to commit by any Administration; it was a manifest and gross Cheat upon the Publick, who were extravagant Losers by it; for some time after, *viz.* upon the 25th of *June*, 1713, the Queen was advised to acquaint the House of Commons by Message, that she had contracted a very large Debt upon her *Civil List* Revenues, which she was unable to

[a] *Tacitus*, Lib. Hist. 4. [b] Page 79.

pay,

pay, and therefore desired them to make good; and such was the Complaisance of a *Tory* Parliament, that notwithstanding the Detestation, which must have arisen in every honest Breast, upon the Detection of this clumsy Juggle; and though Mr. *Smith*, one of the Tellers of the Exchequer, honestly informed the House, that the Estimate of this Debt was astonishing to him, being made to amount in *August* 1710 to 400,000 *l.* whereas he was able to affirm from his own Knowledge, that it amounted at that Time to little more than 100,000 *l.* and though many others undertook to prove that the Funds given for the 700,000 *l.* had, in reality, amounted to 800,000 *l.* and though these Gentlemen had prevailed so far, as to procure an Address to the Crown for an Account of the *Civil List* Debt at *Midsummer* 1713, and for a yearly Account of the Nett Produce of the *Civil List* Revenue, no Regard was paid to this Information, nor to this Address; none of these Accounts were ever permitted to be laid before the House, and upon the very next Day they voted no less a Sum than 500,000 *l.* for this Service. This is the Truth, and the whole Truth of that generous Exploit of the *Jacobite* Administration, under the Daughter of King *James* II. which was no more than a mean Trick, in which they basely employed the Name, and abused the Honour of that unfortunate Princess, to gull the Nation of 400,000 *l.*

From hence results an evident Proof, not only that the present *Civil List* is not greater than that of the late Queen, but that the *Civil List*, though we should wave the strong Fact of the Inequality of the same Revenues from the Difference of the Time, could not nearly suffice to answer the Expences of the Crown, even forty Years ago; it must follow therefore, either that a much greater Part of it was employed in *secret Services* and to *unwarrantable Purposes*, during that favourite Reign; or that the Oeconomy, even of the late profuse Minister, must have far exceeded that of the boasted Administration of a Set of Men they labour so much to ingratiate with the People.

The *Faction* reduced to this Dilemma, may possibly rather chuse to confess the *latter* than the *former*; but in doing this they must, in the first Instance, acknowledge a manifest Advantage to this Country from the Oeconomy of his present Majesty, who, though he has already reigned some Years longer than the late Queen, has hitherto neither demanded or received from his People on this Account, more than one single Sum of 115,000 *l.* and if they give it the only Turn that can be given to it, (after what we have already proved,) viz. *that it is equal to the Publick, whether the* Civil List *be greater or not, if his Majesty can afford out of it more than his Predecessors could afford*

to thoſe ſecret Services, which are ſuppoſed to affect the Publick Independency; this is what I abſolutely and juſtly deny. Becauſe (allowing it to be true in its utmoſt Extent) it is but a temporary Influence ariſing from a peculiar Turn, Temper, and, I may call it, a Virtue in its firſt Principle, which is accidental in the Perſon of one Man, may probably periſh with him, and cannot be looked upon as any real, ſolid or permanent Encreaſe of Power in the Crown, or Change in the Spirit of the Conſtitution. If this be duly conſidered, it ought greatly to quiet the Apprehenſions raiſed in the Breaſts of a very great Number of well-meaning Men, by the *Report* of the late *Secret Committee*; for however great the Sums there ſpecified to have been improperly applied to *Secret Service* out of the *Civil Liſt*, may be, (and very unwarrantable, in ſome Particulars, undoubtedly they are;) yet the Concluſion drawn from thence is not juſt, that our Conſtitution is decayed, in this reſpect, or in a worſe Condition than it has been in former Times. For this certainly cannot be the Caſe, when the *Civil Liſt* is evidently not encreaſed, either in fact, or in effect; and the utmoſt that can be drawn from this Report, or any Diſcovery that hath or can be made, muſt amount to nothing more than *that a temporary Circumſtance had put it in the Power of a late Miniſter to make a worſe Uſe of it, than his Predeceſſors had been willing, or than, in all Probability, for any Time to come, his Succeſſors can be able to do.*—Which may indeed affect that Miniſter, but ought not juſtly to affect the Conſtitution, or lead the Publick to any raſh and violent Alterations of it.

I am ſenſible, that this Doctrine will not, at firſt, ſuit well with the falſe Notions, which many have ſo paſſionately entertained of this Matter; but I am very indifferent upon that Head, *Magna eſt Veritas & prevalebit*; Truth may be borne down for a while by Prepoſſeſſion and falſe Inſinuations, but will force its way at laſt: As therefore it is my ſole Intention in theſe Papers, to bring my Countrymen into a juſt and moderate Temper, to allay that dangerous Ferment, which is now raiſed, and during the Continuance of which, it is impoſſible for them to make a right and impartial Judgment of their Affairs, I ſhall make no Scruple to oppoſe myſelf to their ſtrongeſt Prejudices without any Regard, whom I may oblige or diſoblige; I neither fear the Reſentments of the Friends of the former, nor court the Favour of the preſent Adminiſtration, I am not to be deterred by the Malice and Scandal of a *Faction*, nor will I humour the Paſſions and Folly of a People, whom every honeſt Man muſt endeavour to preſerve, even againſt their Inclination, when they precipitate themſelves, through Paſſion, Credulity, or Ignorance, into Ruin and Deſtruction.

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To ſpeak therefore farther with the ſame Freedom upon the Subject of this Miſapplication of the *Civil Liſt*, as I have done upon every other Topic, which has hitherto fallen under my Conſideration, I muſt obſerve, that it is not eaſy for the Publick to judge, whether the Sums now diſcovered by this Report to be expended out of the *Civil Liſt* in the way, that they have appeared to be expended, were not, upon the whole, as great in former Reigns; the Preſumption is ſtrong that they have been much greater, becauſe it is evident, the *Civil Liſt* could have afforded it much better; and as no Parliamentary Enquiry was ever made before as to this Point, or directed to this Particular, at leaſt, their Information cannot extend to determine poſitively againſt this Opinion.

But what if we ſhould be able to diſcover, that in Truth notwithſtanding the Greatneſs of this Sum, *the Charge of the Government upon this Head was greater formerly than it is now?* yet this ſeems in a great Meaſure capable of being proved by Facts and Figures, the ſtrongeſt Evidence that can ſupport any Propoſition in the World:

For upon the great Settlement of our Conſtitution at the Revolution, the Parliament having called for all the Lights they could procure to enable them to judge of the Expence of Government in all its Branches, in order to make that *Separation* of the *Charge* of the *Crown*, and of the *Publick*, which was one of the great Benefits of that Change, and took away that extravagant Power, which the Crown before derived from having the ſole Management, and Diſtribution of the whole Revenue at large; it appeared that the Article of the Secret Service alone (beſides the Allowance to the Secretary of State, 6066 *l.* and the Penſions, which came to 146,703 *l. per Annum*,) amounted *communibus Annis* to 89,968 *l.* 8 *s.* 2 *d.* ¾ which, notwithſtanding the Temper they were then in, was not at all cenſured by Parliament as exorbirant at that Time.

Upon this Foundation I ſhall proceed to compare the Expence of Government under this Head before the *Revolution*, with the Expence of Government under the ſame Head, in the *preſent Time*.

It appears then that computing upon a Term of eleven Years before the Revolution, the Expence of Government upon the Article of Secret Service amounted to 989,652 *l.* 10 *s.* 6 *d.* ¼ again it appears by the Report of the *Secret Committee* (in the *Appendix* No. 10.) that in the ſame Term of eleven Years from the Year 1731, to the Year 1741 incluſive, this Article of *Secret Service* amounted to 786,355 *l.* 17 *s.* 4 *d.* to which Sum, the Committee have thought fit to add two Articles, both of

of which are (with Submiſſion to ſo great an Authority) in a great Meaſure, different in their Nature from that Article, which is properly called *Secret Service*, *viz.* Money iſſued for *ſpecial Service*, 272,504 *l.* 8 *d.* and Money iſſued *to re-imburſe Expences* 205,390 *l.* 17 *s.* 10 *d.* which two Articles together amount to 477,894 *l.* 18 *s.* 6 *d.* They have likewiſe added further three other Articles, *viz.* 66,000 *l.* for the Secretaries of State, 68,800 *l.* upon Account, to the Sollicitor of the Treaſury, and 50,077 *l.* 18 *s.* to Authors and Printers, amounting together to 184,887 *l.* 18 *s.*

Theſe Totals of 786,355 *l.* 17 *s.* 4.—477,894 *l.* 18 *s.* 6 *d.* and 184,877 *l.* 18 *s.* come to 1,449,128 *l.* 13 *s.* 10 *d.* and with a few other ſmall Articles amount to the compleat Sum of 1,453,400 *l.* 6 *s.* 3 *d.* which is ſtated in the Report as ſuppoſed to be the Expence of the Civil Government in Secret Service, during the Space of the ſaid Eleven Years [a]. But if we are to compare the Expence of the former and the preſent Government, upon the Face of the two Accounts, it is viſible that we can only put the ſingle Article of *Secret Service* Money before the *Revolution*, againſt the *ſame* Article at this *Time*; which if we do, we ſhall find, that the ſame Article before the Revolution, amounted as above, in a Term of eleven Years, to 989,652 *l.* 10 *s.* 6 *d.* $\frac{1}{4}$. whereas it amounted to no more than 786,355 *l.* 17 *s.* 4 *d.* in the ſame Term, from 1731 to 1741 incluſive; ſo that, in this Light, the Charge inſtead of being encreaſed is diminiſhed ſince that Period, by no leſs a Sum than 203,296 *l.* 13 *s.* 2 *d.* $\frac{1}{4}$. And to conſider this Point in any other Light, though it may be done, with much Art, cannot, with any Degree of Certainty; for if, as in the Report, other Articles of Expence are brought (as ſeeming to have ſome Relation to it) to ſwell the Amount of the Articles of Money lately iſſued for *Secret Service*, it would be requiſite to ſcrutinize with the ſame Induſtry, into other Branches of the Charge of the Civil Government before the Revolution, which is impoſſible to do at this remote Diſtance of Time: So that, undoubtedly (however exceptionable either the Greatneſs of the Sums, at the firſt Sight, may be, or the Nature of their Application, or the Manner of their being iſſued) there is not any one of thoſe other Articles, which in the Report, are joined to this Sum of 786,000 *l.* that can be directly charged to this Account.

For who is it that does not perceive a very wide Difference between *Secret Services*, and the other two Articles of *Special Service*, and the *Reimburſement of Expences*. It is perhaps but

[a] The Enquiry was appointed for ten Years; but upon examining this Account of *Secret Service* in the Report, it appears to include eleven.

too

too probable, that ſome Part of the Money under theſe two Heads have been really applied that way. Yet very great Sums muſt have been iſſued under theſe Titles, to Purpoſes very different from thoſe which ought to have given ſo much Alarm to the Publick; and this was undoubtedly the Caſe under ſome other Heads in all former Times.—As it is for this Reaſon out of our Power to make an exact Compariſon in this Way, I think it can be ſtated in no manner more correſpondent with the Truth, than as it has been ſtated here, and if ſo, the Propoſition is as ſufficiently proved, as the Nature of the Thing can poſſibly admit, *that the Charge of Government upon this Head, was greater formerly than it is now.*---However, after having thrown this out for the impartial Conſideration of the Publick, I will, for the ſake of Argument, and to prevent all Poſſibility of Cavil, admit both theſe Articles to be added in their full Extent to the Head of *Secret Service*, by which it will be augmented, though not at all accurately, to 1,264,250 *l.* 15 *s.* 10 *d.*

But after this Conceſſion I will venture to ſay, as to the other three Articles, *viz.* that to the Sollicitor of the Treaſury, that of the Allowance of 3000 *l. per Ann.* to each of the Secretaries of State, and that of the Money iſſued to Authors and Printers, it ſhould ſeem impoſſible, with any Candour, to bring them into the Charge of the *Secret Service*, and for the following Reaſons:

Becauſe as to the *firſt* Sum to the Sollicitor, it is given always upon Account, *viz.* for Crown Proſecutions, and other neceſſary, obvious and warrantable Occaſions of Government, of which the Committee themſelves were ſo well aware, that they have themſelves deducted that Sum from the grand Total.

As to the *Second*, which regards the Secretaries of State, this is in effect the Appointment of an Office, and ſtands juſtly exceptionable in this Compariſon, the rather, becauſe it was made a diſtinct Article from that of Secret Service in all Times, and is particularly ſo in the State of the Revenue at the Revolution, by which this Parallel is made, being not included in the annual Sum of 89,968 *l.* 8 *s.* 2 *d.* ¾, to which the Secret Service then amounted. And this was likewiſe in ſome ſort excepted by the Committee.

With regard to the *Third*, it is rather a Matter to be laughed at than conſidered ſeriouſly.—In the Nature of the thing, it is by no means a Secret Service: And in its Conſequences, eſpecially conſidering the Authors and their Productions, no Man will ſay, that it affected the Publick in the Way, which can only give the People any Right to concern themſelves about the Diſpoſition of the Civil Liſt.—It would be extreamly hard, if the Crown might not be allowed the ſame Privilege of the Pen,

which is allowed to any private Man, and certainly no Minister can be censured, if by Permission of the Prince, and even by the Assistance of his private Purse, he makes use of the same Liberty of the Press to defend the Measures of his Government, which the Subject, with Impunity, employs whenever he thinks proper, (and of late, with outrageous Licence,) to censure and confound it.

As the Sums issued therefore upon these three Articles cannot be added by any just Pretence; after admitting all that can possibly be admitted in the utmost Latitude, against our own Argument, the Account will stand in this Manner:

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Total of Money issued for Secret Service in eleven Years, from 1731 to 1741, inclusive - - - -	1,264,250	15	10
Total of Monies issued under the Head of Secret Service for a like Term before the Revolution - -	989,652	10	06 ¾
Ballance upon eleven Years	274,598	5	3 ¾
Annual Charge of Secret Service, at a Medium of Eleven Years from 1731 to 1741 - - -	114,931	16	10 ¾
Annual Charge before the Revolution	89,968	8	2 ¾
Annual Ballance	24,963	8	8

Which annual Sum of *Twenty-four thousand nine hundred and sixty-three Pounds, eight Shillings and eight Pence*, is the whole Encrease of the Expence of the Civil List upon this Head, after a Term little short of threescore Years, made up in a way of Accounting, the most partial and most favourable to those, who wish a false and dangerous Opinion to prevail, which even upon this State cannot prevail hereafter with any *reasonable Man.*

For every such Man will consider this Matter as it ought only to be considered, that is, upon the Foot of *an Influence acquired by the Crown over the Independency of the Subject, in proportion to the Sums applied in secret Gratuities to the Members of the Legislature, more now than in former Times*; and every such Man will form a Judgment to himself, and create an equitable Ballance, not only upon the Quantum of the Money applied in Secret Service, but will take into his Aid some farther Considerations, *viz. whether* that Part of Secret Service, which is necessary to all Government, (because as the Committee confess in the Report, *No Form of Government can subsist without a Power of employing*

employing Publick Money for Services which are from their Nature secret, and ought always to remain so,) must not unavoidably be from the Circumstances of Time, greater than it was formerly; and again, *whether* the same Degree of Influence can be acquired in these Times by the same Sums.

Now these Things being thus candidly considered, it will appear, that our Engagements with Foreign Powers, the Difficulties of the Age we live in, and the Distractions of *Europe* have been infinitely greater since the Revolution than they were before; that our Secret Service in Foreign Courts must have therefore been greatly more expensive than it was at that Period; and the Prices of Intelligence undoubtedly much higher than formerly they were; for Things of this Nature go always on encreasing, and the Value of Money is become greatly less in every Part of *Europe*.

Add to this, that the late Enquiry was confined to a Time of Peace, and a Time of very intricate Negociation (the Prudence or Imprudence of which, is not under our Consideration in this Question) during which, Expences of this kind have no established Provision, as they have in time of War; they have then an extraordinary Allowance of 10,000*l. per Annum*, besides a Deduction of Two and a half *per Cent.* out of the Pay of all the Foreign Forces in the Service of *Great Britain*, of which we have already had Occasion to make some mention in another Place: And this (as appears by the famous Report of the Commissioners for stating the public Accounts, at the latter End of the Queen's Reign, 1712) amounted in the same Term of eleven Years, to 393,366*l.* 9*s.* 7. over and above the current *Expences of the Civil Government under the same Head*, which could not fail in some measure to be lessened by it.

Upon the whole, leaving it to every Man of Candour to determine how far the two Articles of Money issued to Special Service, and to reimburse Expences, may be allowed to have their Place in this Account, and submitting to every Man of Sense and Candour the Difference of the Times, the Deduction of 100,000*l.* out of the *Civil List* for the Prince of *Wales*, the Circumstances of all our Foreign Affairs, and one thing more, which is hardly decent to be touch'd upon, but by way of Supposition, that if there be Corruption at home, its Wages must be much higher than they were heretofore, it is impossible to deny, but that the Property of the Crown, or in other Words, the *Civil List*, is, not only not really increased, but that it can by no means operate upon the Constitution in any Degree equal to what it might have done formerly, and therefore that the Power of the Crown is not in this Respect augmented

in proportion to the Power of the People, but in fact diminiſhed greatly.

We ſhould in the next place examine this Point, upon the Footing of *the Crown Influence from additional Employments*. But this will receive a ſufficient Anſwer under the next Head; with which it is ſo much connected, that it will be moſt proper to blend them both in one common Conſideration.

We therefore proceed to the third and laſt Point, *viz.* the Encreaſe of the Power of the Crown, *by poſitive Laws in Favour of the Prerogative*. But here I conceive it beyond the Induſtry of *Faction* itſelf to diſcover any one Circumſtance in which Prerogative has been extended.—On the other hand, it is moſt happy and moſt notorious, that Prerogative is within the laſt Century reduced to ſuch a Point, that no rational Man can deny, but that we have gone even farther than in the Opinion of the moſt eminent Writers upon Government, is neceſſary to the Preſervation of the Conſtitution of any Country: To this end, according to that famous Maxim laid down by *Machiavel*, *Government muſt be frequently brought back to its firſt Principles*; but from the Period of the Reſtoration, we have not only conſtantly been employed in paring away thoſe Luxuriancies of Power in the Crown, which had been inſenſibly growing from the Conqueſt, or at leaſt from the Reign of King *John*, till they had in a manner over-ſhaded all the Liberties of the People; but we have actually taken away many of the moſt important Branches, to which the Crown had been entitled from the very Beginning of our Conſtitution: Of which it cannot be improper upon this Occaſion to enumerate a few.

Firſt then, the Crown, from the Acceſſion of *William* I. by the Eſtabliſhment of the feodal Tenures was undoubtedly entitled to ſuch a Degree of Influence, as went incomparably farther in every Reſpect, and in every Light, in which it can poſſibly be conſidered to create an univerſal Dependance in every other Branch of the Legiſlature, than any other Circumſtance of human Invention, and much leſs any later Changes in the Conſtitution, were they as real as they are imaginary, could poſſibly do: The greateſt Part of the whole Kingdom, (beſides what was yet more immediately belonging to the Crown as its Domain,) was held *in capite* of the King; and by Virtue of this Tenure, the Crown enjoyed the following Prerogatives; 1. *The Profits of the whole Eſtate of every Family ſuch (as well of the Lords as of the Commons) during the Minority of every Heir.* 2. *The Right to diſpoſe of the Profits of ſuch Eſtates to whom it pleaſed.* 3. *The Guardianſhip of every ſuch Heir, and the Power*

of

of delegating that Truſt to any other Perſon. 4. *The Right to diſpoſe of the Heir or Heireſs of any ſuch Family, during their Minority, in Marriage.* 5. *A Title to one Year's Profit of the Eſtate, in Caſes where there was no Minority, before Poſſeſſion could be taken by the next Heir.*—Theſe, with many more of a like Nature, were ſome of the Crown Prerogatives, which exiſted legally in the Conſtitution of this Country from the Beginning of this Government, till about eighty Years ago, and if they are well weighed, it is impoſſible not to ſee what prodigious Means of Influence they afforded to the Crown. What *Revenue*, what *Employments*, what *Civil Liſt* could furniſh out Matter of ſuch Extenſive Obligation? What Noble Family in the one Houſe of Parliament, or what Man of great Eſtate in the other, but might be either tempted or neceſſitated to court its Favour? What Struggles would the Virtue even of a *Broad-bottom Patriot* undergo, contending with the Offer of the *Wardſhip* of a Duke of *Bedford*, or the *Cuſtodium* of a *Pelham* Eſtate, during a Minority of fifteen or ſixteen Years? In what Man is the *Amor Patriæ* ſo conſtant, paſſionate, and fond, that he could coldly look upon the Charms of a beautiful young Woman kindly tendred to his Arms by a firſt Miniſter, with the Titles and Inheritance of a Duke of *Marlborough?* Again, what would be the Conſequence of an Education wholly directed by Tutors and Guardians appointed by the Crown, upon all the Men of Property in the Kingdom? what the Effect of Gratitude upon the Minds of Gentlemen, in whoſe behalf the Crown ſhould wave ſome Parts of this Prerogative?—in favour of whom the Crown ſhould remit its Title to the Profits of the Minor's Eſtate? or leave it in Truſt to be improved by the neareſt Relation for the Heir? or decline to take the Releif, or one's Years Profit, to which, even in Caſes of no Minority, it was entitled? From hence, it may be worth conſidering whether that is quite a conſtitutional Principle, which has been laid down with ſo much Confidence of late, and in ſo vaſt Latitude, *that the Crown ought to have no Degree of Influence upon the Legiſlature*; the Fact certainly was the direct contrary:—Our Anceſtors intended the Power of their Kings to be *real*, and they knew that without ſome Degree of Influence, that Power would be but *in Name*;—their Idea was to ballance the *Popular* by the *Regal*; not, as it has manifeſtly been of late, to put all the Weights into the *Popular Scale*: To the People they gave the *ſole Power of granting Money*, and a *Title to Reſiſtance in Caſes of extraordinary and violent Extremity*; a nominal Power could not ballance theſe great Privileges; they therefore gave the Crown a great Revenue, the *ſole Management of the publick Money, the*

Diſpoſition of all Employments, in fine, *the Means of General Obligation to the Subject*; again, to ballance the Title of Reſiſtance in the People, they armed the Crown with *Powers of Confiſcation, and even ſome degree of Influence in the Trials* of thoſe, who ſhould raſhly or unjuſtly take up Arms againſt it; theſe Prerogatives became at length abuſed, and have therefore been wiſely and juſtly in many important Inſtances curtail'd, (while all the former Privileges of the People yet remain with very great Additions.) Among the reſt this great one, ariſing from the feodal Tenures, was totally aboliſhed in the Year 1661. By which one Act, the Spirit of this Conſtitution received ſo great an Alteration, that few are even yet ſenſible of all the Conſequences, that either have happened, or will unavoidably reſult from it, in favour of the popular Intereſt in this Country.

The next great Encreaſe of Privilege to the People, was from the Act of *Habeas Corpus*, which was paſſed in 1673-4; a Law of ineſtimable Security to the Liberty of the Subject.

By the Revolution in 1688, the whole Government was purged at once, of all Excreſcencies of Prerogative, that had been growing from its firſt Inſtitution: By the very Act of the Expulſion of King *James* II. and his Line, confirmed, as it afterwards was, by Law, the People acquired a right, which had never been allowed in the Conſtitution of this Country. In the famous Charter of King *John*, the Barons never went ſo far, it was there decreed that in Caſes of the laſt Neceſſity, the Publick might diſtreſs the Crown, by all Manner of Means, *viz.* by the Seizure and Sequeſtration of its Caſtles, Lands, and Poſſeſſions till the publick Grievances ſhould be redreſſed: *diſtringent & gravabunt nos modis omnibus quibus poterunt, ſcilicet per captionem caſtrorum, terrarum, poſſeſſionem, donec fuerit emendatum*, &c. But there was a ſtrict Exception to the Perſons of the *King*, the *Queen*, and the Iſſue of the Royal Family, *ſalvâ Perſonâ noſtrâ, & Reginæ noſtræ, & Liberorum noſtrorum*; there was an expreſs Condition to ſave the Rights of the Succeſſion; the Crown was not to forfeit for its exorbitant Proceedings, the People were to return to their Allegiance again, ſo ſoon as theſe Exorbitances were redreſſed, *cùm fuerit emendatum intendent nobis ſicut prius fecerunt*. This Principle of an *indefeaſible Hereditary Right* (for it was no leſs) deſtroyed the Effect of all the ſtrong Proviſions of *Reſiſtance* preſcribed at the ſame time; the Law was ſeverely worded, but void of a ſufficient Penalty to enforce it; a temporary Suſpenſion of the Regal Authority was the only Penalty: The Crown ſoon found how to avail itſelf of this Defect; their Attempts upon the People were offenſive, the Reſiſtance of the People defenſive only; this was contending upon

upon very unequal Terms;—the Crown had never much to fear; but whenever Publick Liberty was invaded the People run the Risk of losing all;—the Crown, if unsuccessful, suffered nothing but a Disappointment, and had nothing to do, but to quit the Prosecution of its Views for that Time. It was then restored again to what it was before, with the same Means of renewing the Attempt upon the first favourable Opportunity. The People it is true, have formerly gone further, and were under the Necessity to do it, but when they did it, they acted not upon the Principles of the Law of *England*; they were obliged to have Recourse to that grand Principle of the Law of Nations, [a] *Datâ facultate datur jus facultatem tuendi.* Yet this was but lamely understood by the Bulk of a People, ever tender of their Laws, and, like the Bulk of every other People, little able to reason upon higher Principles; from hence the Crown derived so great an Advantage that for the greater Part of the last Century our Liberties were brought into continual Hazard; it was the Revolution alone, and the Principles established then, that could have possibly preserved us. The Doctrine of *Hereditary Right* in this extravagant Extent was taken away; some positive Cases were enacted by Law where the Crown shall forfeit. This has given a Blow to Prerogative, which it can never recover.

And so far had we dwindled from the Virtue and Spirit of our Forefathers, that even that Provision of *Resistance*, which had been formerly made to ballance this Prerogative of *indefeasible Hereditary Right*, (insufficient as we have shewn it to have been,) was actually wholly given up at the Restoration, by the Oath prescribed to be taken in the * *Act for well Governing and Regulating of Corporations*; which was in these Words: *I* A. B. *do declare and believe that it is not lawful, upon any Pretence whatsoever, to take Arms against the King, and that I do abhor that traitorous Position, of taking Arms, by his Authority, against his Person, or against those that are commissioned by him. So help me God.*—It was further disclaimed in the Preamble to the Act of Attainder, *Anno* 12 *Car.* II. cap. 30. in the following Words,—*And be it hereby declared, that by the Undoubted and Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, neither the Peers of this Realm, nor the Commons, nor both together, in Parliament, or out of Parliament, nor the People collectively, nor representatively, nor any other Persons whatsoever, ever had, have, hath,*

[a] *Grotius de Jure Belli ac Pacis*, lib. II. Stat. 2. Cap. 1.

* Anno 13 *Car.* II.

or

or ought to have any coerſive Power over the Perſons of the Kings of this Realm.

It was again diſclaimed, in the Preambles of different Acts relating to the Militia, about the ſame time, in theſe Words, *That both, nor either of the Houſes of Parliament, can, or may, lawfully raiſe or levy any War, Offenſive or Defenſive, againſt his Majeſty, his Heirs, or lawful Succeſſors.*

How far this Doctrine of *Non-Reſiſtance*, without any Reſerve, ſtruck at the Liberties of the People, is manifeſt enough; but how far the very Act of the Revolution has given Limitation to its Extravagance, we have already obſerved; and as to the Oath before mentioned, it was directly abrogated by the Act of the 1ſt of *William* and *Mary*, cap. 8.

Again, by two Acts, the one, *An Act for Safety and Preſervation of his Majeſty's Perſon and Government*, Anno 13 *Car.* II. cap. 1.—And another, *For preventing Abuſes in Printing*, &c. Anno 13 and 14 *Car.* II. cap. 33. the Liberty of the Preſs was totally reſtrained. Theſe Laws were ſuffer'd to expire.

By an Act againſt Tumults and Diſorders, *Anno* 13 *Car.* II. cap. 5. the Subject had been, in effect, deprived of that Right of Petitioning either the Crown or Parliament; for it was enacted—*That, from and after the Firſt of* Auguſt 1661, *no Perſon or Perſons whatſoever, ſhall ſolicit, labour, or procure the* GETTING OF HANDS, *or* OTHER CONSENT *of any Perſons above the Number of* TWENTY OR MORE, *to any Petition, Complaint, Remonſtrance, Declaration, or other Addreſs to the King, or both or either Houſes of Parliament, for Alterations of Matters eſtabliſhed by Law, in Church or State, or accompanied, at any one time, with above the Number of* TEN PERSONS. *And that no Perſon or Perſons exceeding* TEN, *as aforeſaid, ſhall preſent any publick or private Grievance or Complaint, to any Member or Members of Parliament after his Election*, &c. *under Penalty of* 100 l. *in Money, and Impriſonment for three Months, without Bail or Mainprize.*

This was virtually repealed by the Act, declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, *Anno* 1 *William* and *Mary*, Seſſ. 2. cap. 2. wherein it was Enacted, *That it is the Right of the Subject to petition, and all Commitments and Proſecutions for ſuch petitioning are illegal.*

By this Act the Conſtitution was farther reſtored in very many, and improved in other Inſtances as follow.

1. It was enacted, *That the pretended Power of ſuſpending Laws, or the Execution of Laws by regal Authority without Conſent of Parliament is illegal.*

2. *That*

2. *That the Commiſſion for erecting the late Court of Commiſſioners for Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, and all other Commiſſioners and Courts of the like Nature are illegal and pernicious.*

3. *That levying Money for, or to the Uſe of the Crown by Pretence of Prerogative, without Grant of Parliament, for longer time, or in other Manner, than the ſame is, or ſhall be granted, is illegal and pernicious.*

4. *That the raiſing or keeping a Standing Army within the Kingdom (in Time of Peace) unleſs it be with Conſent of Parliament, is againſt Law.*

5. *That the Subjects, which are* Proteſtants *may have Arms for their Defence ſuitable to their Conditions, and as allowed by Law.*

6. *That Elections of Members of Parliament ought to be free.*

7. *That the Freedom of Speech and Debates or Proceedings in Parliament ought not to be impeached or queſtioned in any Court or Place out of Parliament.*

8. *That exceſſive Bail ought not to be required, nor exceſſive Fines impoſed, nor cruel and unuſual Puniſhments inflicted.*

9. *That Juries ought to be duly impannelled and returned, and Juries, which paſs upon Men in Trials for High Treaſon ought to be Freeholders.*

10. *That all Grants and Promiſes of Fines and Forfeitures of particular Perſons before Conviction are illegal and void.*

11. *That for Redreſs of all Grievances, and for the amending, ſtrengthening and preſerving of the Laws, Parliaments ought to be held frequently.*

12. *That all Diſpenſations paſſed by* non obſtante *to Acts of Parliament, except in Caſes provided for by Law, ſhall be void.*

13. *That every Perſon or Perſons, that is, are, or ſhall be reconciled to the Church of* Rome, *or ſhall marry a* Papiſt, *ſhall be excluded, and be for ever incapable to inherit, poſſeſs, or enjoy the Crown and Government of this Realm, and* Ireland, *and the Dominions thereunto belonging, or any Part of the ſame, or to have, uſe, or exerciſe any legal Power, Authority or Juriſdiction within the ſame, and in all and every ſuch Caſe or Caſes, the People of of theſe Realms, ſhall be, and are hereby abſolved of their Allegiance, and the Crown ſhall deſcend to the next* Proteſtant *Heir.*

This was followed by another Law, *cap.* 10. which took away the Revenue ariſing from *Hearth-Money*, with all the Powers attendant on that Collection; which, as it was juſtly expreſſed in the Words of the Preamble, *was in itſelf not only a great Oppreſſion to the poorer Sort, but a Badge of Slavery upon*

the whole People, expoſing every Man's houſe to be entered into and ſearched at Pleaſure by Perſons unknown to him.

In the ſame Seſſions of Parliament (*cap.* 27) one very great and conſiderable Part of this Kingdom was entirely redeemed from a Juriſdiction utterly inconſiſtent with the Freedom of a *Britiſh* Subject, the Court of the Preſident and Council of the Marches *Wales*, which had been eſtabliſhed in 34 and 35 of *Henry* VIII. and under which that Province had been governed till this Act paſſed, was totally aboliſhed, and the People of that Country allowed to enjoy the common Benefit of the *Engliſh Law and Liberty*; *the Proceedings and Decrees of that Court, having been* (as it is recited in the Preamble) *an intolerable Burden to the Subject within the ſaid Principality contrary to the great Charter, the known Laws of the Land, and the Birth-right of the Subject*; *and the Means to introduce an arbitrary Power and Government.*

In the 2d of *William* and *Mary*, *cap.* 7. a very unconſtitutional Prerogative, (for ſo it was in effect, though not directly exerted under the Name of the Crown,) was repealed; and it was enacted, *That whereas the Election of Members to ſerve in Parliament ought to be free, and whereas the Wardens of the* Cinque Ports *pretended to, and claimed as of Right, a Power of nominating and recommending to each of the* Cinque Ports, *the two ancient Towns, and their reſpective Members, one Perſon whom they ought to elect, to ſerve as a Baron or Member of Parliament for ſuch Port*, &c. *all ſuch Nomination or Recommendation ſhall be void.*

In the ſame Year (*cap.* 8.) the Judgment of *Quo Warranto* againſt the City of *London*, was reverſed—its Liberties regranted, and made a Corporation.

By an Act in 1694, the 5th of *William* and *Mary*, cap. 7. *for Granting to their Majeſties certain Rates and Duties, upon* Salt, Beer, Ale, *and* other Liquors, *for the raiſing of One Million towards carrying on the War with* France. This Clauſe was obtained, *Provided always, and be it enacted*, &c. *That no Member of the Houſe of Commons ſhall, at any time, be concerned directly or indirectly, or any other in Truſt for him, in the* Farming, Collecting, *or* Managing *any of the Sums of* Money, Duties, *or* other Aids granted *to their Majeſties by this Act, or* that hereafter ſhall be granted by any other Acts of Parliament; *except the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, Cuſtoms, and Exciſe, not exceeding the preſent Number in each Office, and the Commiſſioners of the Land-Tax.*—But the Cuſtoms and Exciſe were afterwards excluded, as we ſhall preſently come to ſhew, and continue ſo to be.

Again,

Again, by another Act the same Session, *cap.* 20. *for Granting several Rates and Duties upon Tonnage of Ships and Vessels, and upon Beer, Ale, and other Liquors, to raise One Million five hundred thousand Pounds*, &c. It was provided farther—*That no* Officer *or* Person *whatsoever concerned in any manner with the* Collection *or* Management *of the* Excise, *shall, by Word, Message, or Writing, or in any other manner, endeavour* to influence any Voter in Elections, *under Penalty of* 100 l. *and of Incapacity of holding any Office or Place of Trust under the Crown.*

In the 7th of *William* III. cap. 3. that famous Law was passed, which put the Lives, as well as Liberties of the Subject, upon so happy a Foundation, that no People upon the known Earth, can boast of such Security. I mean, the *Act for Regulating Trials in Cases of Treason and Misprision of Treason*; which contained the following Clauses.

1. *That the Persons accused should be intitled first to have a Copy of the Indictment five Days before the Trial.*

2. *To make their Defence by Council and Witnesses upon Oath, the Council to be chosen by themselves, and to have free Access to the Prisoner at all reasonable Hours.*

3. *Not to be indicted, tried, or attainted but by the Oath of two Witnesses, and one Witness to one Act of Treason, and another to another, not to be deemed two Witnesses.*

4. *Persons outlaw'd, upon their Return to stand Trial, to have the Benefit of this Act.*

5. *No Person to be indicted or prosecuted, unless within three Years of the Offence.*

6. *Persons tried, to have Copies of the* Pannel *two Days before Trial.*

7. *Such Persons to have Process of the Court where they shall be tried, to compel their Witnesses to appear for them at their Trials.*

8. *No Evidence to be admitted, or given of any Overt Act, not expressly laid in the Indictment, against any Person or Persons whatsoever.*

And whereas the Commons are to be tried by a Jury of Twelve, who must all agree in one Verdict to condemn any Man, and the Lords had till then lain under two great Disadvantages, *first* that one Major Vote was sufficient to condemn a Peer in Cases of this Nature; and *secondly*, that the Crown had the Power of nominating a select Number; appointing and excepting what Peers it pleased to sit in Judgment, it was then enacted, *that their Trials should be made for the future by the whole Body of the Peerage; and that every Peer should be duly summoned at least twenty Days before, to appear and vote at such Trial.*

In the ſame Year, *Seſſ.* 1. *cap.* 4. the Act was paſſed *For preventing Charge and Expence in Elections of Members to ſerve in Parliament*, providing *that Candidates after the Teſte of the Writ, or after any Seat in Parliament ſhould become vacant for any Country, City, Borough*, &c. *giving or promiſing any Preſent or Reward for being elected, to any Perſon having Right of Vote, ſhall be incapable to ſerve in Parliament for any ſuch Place as aforeſaid.*

This was ſoon after followed by another Act of the ſame Seſſions, *For preventing falſe and double Returns, cap.* 7. containing the following Clauſes, 1. *That in caſe of falſe and double Returns, the Party aggrieved may ſue in any Court of* Weſtminſter *againſt any Officers or Perſons, and every one of them, and recover double Damages, and full Coſts of Suit.* 2. *Whoſoever ſhall make, or give any Contract, Security, Promiſe, Bond, Gift or Reward to procure a falſe or double Return ſhall forfeit* 300 *l.* 3. *The Clerk of the Crown to make Entry of all Returns within ſix Days after their Receipt, under Penalty of* 500 *l. and Forfeiture of his Office.* 4. *All Returns contrary to the laſt Determination of the Houſe of Commons, to be void, and to be deemed falſe, and this Act to continue ſeven Years.*

By the Act in the 11th and 12th of *William*, *For granting an Aid to his Majeſty out of the forfeited Eſtates*, &c. it was enacted, *That no Member of Parliament ſhall after the* 24th *of* June, 1700, *be a* Commiſſioner *or* Farmer *of the* Exciſe, *or a* Commiſſioner *of* Appeals, *or* Controller *or* Auditor *of the ſaid* Duty.

In the ſame Year, *cap.* 7. an Act was paſſed *For preventing irregular Proceedings of Sheriffs and other Officers, in making Returns of Members*, provided, *That the Returns ſhall be made to the Clerk of the Crown, within fourteen Days after the Election*, &c. *under Penalty of* 500 *l.*

In the ſame Seſſions, *cap.* 12. an Act paſſed *to puniſh the Governors of Plantations, in this Kingdom, for Crimes committed by them in the Plantations*, by which the moſt remote Subjects of the *Britiſh* Empire obtained the Protection of the *Engliſh* Laws againſt Oppreſſions, which were before that time without a Remedy.

The next Addition of Privilege and Security to the People, and Diminution of Prerogative was obtained by the *Act for the farther Limitation of the Crown*, &c. *Anno* 12 *William* III. Seſſ. 1. cap. 2. which was then ſettled upon the Houſe of *Hanover*; in this it was provided farther,

1. *That whoſoever ſhall hereafter come to the Poſſeſſion of this Crown ſhall join in Communion with the Church of* England, *as by Law eſtabliſhed.* (The Act of 1 *William* and *Mary*, *Seſſ.* 2. *cap.*

cap. 2. before-mentioned had provided againſt the Admiſſion of any *Papiſt*, it was now, for the abſolute Security of the Religion of this Country, provided, that no Diſſenter from that Religion of any Denomination whatſoever, ſhould be King of *England.*)

2. *That in caſe the Crown and imperial Dignity of this Realm ſhall hereafter come to any Perſon not being a Native of this Kingdom, this Nation be not obliged to engage in any War for the Defence of any Dominions or Territories, which do not belong to the Crown of* England, *without Conſent of Parliament.*

3. *That after the ſaid Limitation ſhall take Effect as aforeſaid, no Perſons born out of the Kingdoms of* England, Scotland *or* Ireland, *or the Dominions thereunto belonging (although he be naturalized or made a Denizen, except ſuch as are born of* Engliſh *Parents) ſhall be capable to be of the Privy Council, or a Member of either Houſe of Parliament, or to enjoy any Office or Place of Profit or Truſt either Civil or Military, or to have any Grant of Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments from the Crown to himſelf or to any other or others in Truſt for him.*

4. *That after the ſaid Limitation ſhall take Effect as aforeſaid, Judges-Commiſſioners ſhall be made* quamdiu ſe bene geſſerint, *and their Salaries aſcertained and eſtabliſhed; but that upon Addreſs of both Houſes of Parliament, it may be lawful to remove them.*

5. *That no* Pardon *under the Great Seal of* England *be pleadable to an* Impeachment *by the* Commons *in Parliament.*

6. *That all Laws and Statutes of this Realm for ſecuring the eſtabliſhed Religion, and the Rights and Liberties of the People, be ratified and confirmed.*

Another Improvement of our Conſtitution was made immediately after in that Act, *for preventing any Inconvenience, that may happen by Privilege of Parliament. Anno* 12 *Gul.* III. *cap.* 3. by which it was enacted, 1. *That Actions may be commenced againſt either Peer or Member of Parliament in the Interval of Parliament.* 2. *That after Prorogation the Court may give Judgment.* 3. *That Perſons may have Proceſs againſt Peer or Member of Parliament after the Diſſolution of Parliament, and may exhibit any Bill or Complaint againſt any Peer or Member of Parliament, and ſequeſter the Parties Eſtate.* 4. *Plaintiffs, who are prevented from Proſecution by any Privilege of Parliament, not to be barred by any Statute of Limitation.*

The next Act of the ſame Nature was for adding a farther Term to that formerly mentioned of 7 *Will.* III. *cap.* 7. *for preventing falſe and double Returns of Members to ſerve in Parlia-*

ment for ſeven Years, which was then continued for eleven Years longer.

The laſt that we ſhall mention of this Great and Happy Reign, is of the ſame Year 11 and 12 *Will.* III. *cap.* 10. *A. D.* 1700, entitled *An Act for granting an Aid to his Majeſty for defraying the Expence of his Navy, Guards and Garriſons*, &c. in which it was provided, *That after the Diſſolution of that Parliament, no Member of the Houſe of Commons ſhould be a* Commiſſioner *of the* Cuſtoms, *or capable of holding* any Office *in that* Branch *of the* Revenue, *nor any Perſon concerned therein ſhould directly or indirectly* influence any Election, *under Penalty of being incapacitated to hold any Office or Place of Truſt under the Crown.*

We now come to the Reign of Queen *Anne*, during which the Prerogative ſtill declined, and the Liberties of the People were augmented and farther ſecured, for by *An Act for the better Support of her Majeſty's Houſhould, and of the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, Anno* 1 *Annæ Stat.* 1 *cap.* 7. it was decreed that for preſerving the Revenues of the Crown, *all Grants of Manners, Lands*, &c. *made by the Crown for more than thirty-one Years or three Lives, or all Tenements for more than fifty Years, ſhould be void*, by which the Crown was for ever deprived of that great Means of Influence, and of burdening the Publick Revenues by Gratifications to their Favourites.

Anno 2 and 3 *Annæ*, *cap.* 18. it was enacted, *that any Action or Suit ſhall and may be commenced and proſecuted in any of her Majeſty's Courts of* Weſtminſter, *againſt any Officer of the Revenue, or any other Place of publick Truſt, no ſuch Action to be impeached or ſtaid or delayed on Pretence of Privilege of Parliament either with Reſpect to a Peer or Member of the Houſe of Commons*, and this was manifeſtly a great additional Security to the Subject againſt Power and Oppreſſion.

In the Year 1704, 4 *Annæ*, *cap.* 8. *An Act* paſſed *for the better Security of her Majeſty's Perſon and Government, and of the Succeſſion to the Crown of* England *in the* Proteſtant *Line:* By which the Nation acquired the following Advantages.

1. *That the Parliament ſhall not be diſſolved by the Death of any King or Queen of* England, *but that it ſhall continue ſix Months after; that it ſhall immediately convene, meet, and ſit, whether adjourned or prorogued, and in Caſe there ſhould be no Parliament in being, then the laſt preceding Parliament ſhall immediately convene, and ſit, and be a Parliament, to continue, as aforeſaid, to all Intents and Purpoſes.*—A Proviſo which, if rightly conſider'd, muſt appear to be infinitely wiſe, and may, in future Times, prove of the laſt Importance, to bring the Conſtitution back again,

again, if it ſhould ever be interrupted or unhinged in any Arbitrary Reign hereafter.

2. *The Privy Council, the Great Officers, and all Offices, Civil or Military, ſhall continue likewiſe for ſix Months.*

3. *The Privy Council, immediately after the Deceaſe of the King or Queen, to proclaim the next* Proteſtant Succeſſor, *under Penalty of High-Treaſon* —The Benefit of which three Clauſes moſt manifeſtly appeared upon the Death of the late Queen *Anne*.

It may be expected of me to take Notice in this Place, that by this Act two Clauſes in the Act of the 12th and 13th of *William* III. cap. 2. the firſt, *Concerning the ſigning of Privy Counſellors to all Acts of State*; and the ſecond, *Containing a general Excluſion of all Offices and Places of Profit, and all Perſons holding Penſions from the Crown, from ſitting in the Houſe of Commons*, were repealed; becauſe upon this Repeal the Malecontents have taken their only plauſible Handle, to inſinuate, that our Conſtitution has been impaired.—But this will admit of a very eaſy Anſwer—for, in Fact, this never was the Conſtitution; theſe two Proviſions were only made *in futuro*, had never actually taken Place, were repealed long before they were to be in Force, *viz.* in four Years after they were firſt made, and at a Period of Time, when that Government and Family they were intended to reſtrain, had no Power or Influence, in this Country, to procure their Repeal, and near ten Years before their Acceſſion to the Throne.—Nay farther, as to the ſecond Clauſe concerning Penſions, it has actually been reſtored ſince that Acceſſion, as we ſhall ſhew in its due Place.

4. *It was enacted by this Law, that from and after the Diſſolution, or ſooner Determination of that Parliament, no Perſon who ſhall have, in his own Name, or in the Name of any Perſon or Perſons in Truſt for him, or for his Benefit,* any new Office, *or* Place of Profit whatſoever *under the Crown, which, at any Time hereafter, ſhall be created or erected, nor any* Commiſſioner *or* Sub Commiſſioner *of* Prizes, *and* Secretary *or* Receiver *of the* Prizes, *any* Comptroller *of the Accounts of the* Army, *any* Commiſſioner *of* Tranſports, *any* Commiſſioner *of the* Sick *and* Wounded, *any* Agent *for* any Regiment, *nor any* Commiſſioner *for* Wine Licences, *nor any* Governor, *or* Deputy Governor *of any of the* Plantations, *nor any* Commiſſioners *of the* Navy *employed in any of the* Out-Ports, *nor any Perſon having any* Penſion *from the Crown* during Pleaſure, *ſhall be elected, ſit, or vote, as a Member of the Houſe of Commons.*

5. *No* Office to be ſplit into Commiſſion *farther than already done before the firſt Day of the Seſſions of Parliament* 1705.

6. *All*

6. *All Members of Parliament accepting any Place of Profit under the Crown, during the Time of their being Members, their Elections to become immediately void, but capable of being re-elected, if the People ſhould think proper to chuſe them again under that Circumſtance.*—This Clauſe was enacted in the Place of that which we have already obſerved to have been repealed by this Act, whereby *Perſons holding any Employments were totally excluded.*—This Proviſion being thought much more conſiſtent with the Liberty of the Subject, both *Elected* and *Electors.*—And, in the Opinion of that Time, as great a Security as could be deſired by any People, ſince it put it out of the Power of the Repreſentatives to deceive their Conſtituents, and left it to their own Option, whether they would confide their Intereſts again in the Hands of the *ſame* Perſon, after that Change of his Condition.

7. *A Penalty of* 500 l. *to be recovered by any Perſon who ſhall ſue any Member who ſhall ſit contrary to this Act, and the Election of ſuch Member to be void.*

Greatly as the Prerogative and Influence of the Crown was reduced by this Law, it is much to be queſtioned, whether its Benefits exceeded that which I ſhall next mention; *Viz. The Act of the 7th of* Anne, *cap.* 21. *for Improving the Union of the two Kingdoms.*—For by this Act, 1ſt, *That inеſtimable Law of Treaſons before mentioned, was extended to that Part of* Great Britain *called* Scotland. 2dly, *It was enacted, That after the Death of the Perſon called the* Pretender, *when any Perſon ſhall be indicted for High-Treaſon, or Miſpriſion of Treaſon, a Liſt of the Witneſſes that ſhall be produced on the Trial for proving the ſaid Indictment, and of the Jury, mentioning the Names, Profeſſions, and Places of Abode of the ſaid Witneſſes and Jurors, ſhall be alſo given at the ſame Time that the Copy of the Indictment is delivered to the Party indicted, and that Copies of all the Indictments for the Offences aforeſaid, with ſuch Liſts, ſhall be delivered to the Party indicted, ten Days before the Trial, and in Preſence of two or more credible Witneſſes. And* 3dly, *That after the Deceaſe of the ſaid* Pretender, *and at the End of the Term of three Years, (after the Succeſſion of the Houſe of* Hanover *to the Throne) no Attainder for Treaſon ſhall extend to the diſinheriting of any Heir, nor to the Prejudice of the Right or Title of any Perſon or Perſons, other than the Right or Title of the Offender or Offenders, during his, her or their natural Lives only, and that it ſhall and may be lawful to every Perſon or Perſons, to whom the Right or Intereſt of any Lands, Tenements or Hereditaments, after the Death of any ſuch Offender or Offenders ſhould or might have appertained, if no ſuch Attainder had been, to enter into the ſame:* Which noble Proviſion for the Lives and Property of the Subject,

ject, taken in all its Conſequences, is not to be found in any other Government upon Earth.

In 1710, 9 *Annæ*, *cap.* 5. the *Act* was paſſed *for ſecuring the Freedom of Parliaments, and the further qualifying the Members to ſit in the Houſe of Commons, appointing a Qualification of* 600 l. per Annum *for Counties, and* 300 l. *a Year for Cities and Boroughs.* A Proviſion wholly new in the Conſtitution of this Country.

In the ſame Seſſion, *cap.* 10. it was enacted, *That no* Poſtmaſter *or* Poſt-maſter-General, *or his or their* Deputy *or* Deputies, *or any Perſon employed by or under him or them, in the* receiving, collecting *or* managing *the* Revenue *of the* Poſt Office, *ſhould in any Manner whatſoever perſuade or diſſuade any Voter for Members to ſerve in Parliament, under the Penalty of* 100 l. *and of Diſqualification, Diſability, and Incapacity of ever bearing, or executing any Office or Place of Truſt whatſoever under the Crown.*

In the 10th *Annæ*, *cap.* 23. an Act was paſſed *for the more effectual preventing fraudulent Conveyances, in order to multiply Votes for electing Knights of the Shire to ſerve in Parliament, providing againſt this Evil by an Oath, and inflicting the Penalty of Perjury upon the Perſon, either ſuborning or taking that Oath falſely.*

In the 12th of the ſame Reign, *cap.* 5. there was an Act of the ſame Nature, *for the better regulating the Elections in* Scotland.

And in the ſame Seſſion, *Stat.* 1. *cap.* 15. *the Act concerning double Returns*, (firſt made, *Anno* 7 and 8 *Gul.* III. *cap.* 4. for ſeven Years, then continued as we have obſerved for eleven Years more, in the 12 *William*, *cap.* 5.) *was made perpetual.*

In the Firſt of *George* I. 1714. cap. 4. *It was Enacted, that no Perſon ſhall be hereafter naturalized, unleſs in the Bill exhibited for that Purpoſe, there be a Clauſe or particular Words inſerted to declare, that ſuch Perſon ſhall not thereby be enabled to be of the Privy Council, or a Member of either Houſe of Parliament, or to take any Office or Place of Truſt, either Civil or Military, or to have any Grant of Lands, Tenements or Hereditaments from the Crown to himſelf, or any other Perſon in Truſt for him, and that no Bill of Naturalization ſhall be hereafter received, unleſs ſuch Clauſe or Words be firſt inſerted or contained therein.*

In the firſt of the ſame Reign 1715. Sect. 2. cap. 56. a farther Act was made, *to diſable any Perſon from being choſe a Member of ſitting or voting in the Houſe of Commons, who has any Penſion for any Number of Years from the Crown, and the Penalty of* 20 l. *for every Day that ſuch Member ſhall preſume to ſit or vote*

in

in that Houſe: By which Act, the one of the two Clauſes before mentioned in the Act of the 12th and 13th of *William*, which was repealed by the 4th of *Anne*, cap. 8. was again reſtored.

In the ſecond of the preſent King 1728-9, *the Bill for the more effectual preventing Bribery and Corruption in the Election of Members to ſerve in Parliament was paſſed into a Law.*

And in the *firſt* Seſſions of this *preſent* Parliament, an Act was paſſed *for the farther Limitation of Placemen in the Houſe of Commons*, of which we have already had Occaſion to ſpeak, by which, *after the Expiration or ſooner Determination of this preſent Parliament, among others are excluded the* ſeven Commiſſioners *of the* Revenue *in* Ireland, *the* ſeven Commiſſioners *of the* Victualling Office, *the* Clerk *of the* Pells, *and* all the Deputies, Inferior Officers *and* Clerks *of theſe* Commiſſions, *and of the* Treaſury, Exchequer, Pells, Admiralty, Secretaries of State, *and* Paymaſter *of the* Forces, (two or three only excepted,) *together with the* major Part of the Eſtabliſhment of *Minorca* and *Gibraltar.*---This is that Act, for which the preſent Adminiſtration, inſtead of Thanks, have been repaid with the vileſt Reproaches of the *Faction*, and the moſt cruel Abuſe of their ungrateful Country.

In the ſame Seſſion paſſed that Clauſe in the Bill *for Mutiny and Deſertion, for taking the Power of* billetting of Soldiers *in the City and Liberty of* Weſtminſter, *out of the Hands of the* High Conſtable *of that City, and placing it with effectual Proviſions in the Hands of the petty Conſtables, by which a very great Abuſe and Means of Fraud and Influence were taken away.*

We now come in order of time to the *laſt Seſſion* of this *Parliament, when the* Pot-Act, (*which was, in effect, an arbitrary Tax, at the Will and under the Direction of the Exciſe,*) *was repealed.*

And laſtly an Act was paſſed *for the further Security of the Freedom of Election in that Part of* Great-Britain *called* Scotland.---The four laſt Acts here mentioned have been gained ſince the Removal of the late Miniſter, and in little more than the Space of one Year; yet are the People taught to believe, that they have gained nothing.---*Quos Deus vult perdere dementat.*

The Reader will pardon this long Deduction of popular Laws, which I have here inſerted; ſuch a Review can never be tedious to any Man, who ſincerely loves his Country; and I am certain that the Recapitulation of thoſe extraordinary Amendments of our Conſtitution, here preſented to their View, will greatly contribute to the Peace and Quiet of many honeſt Men, who in the Paſſion and Hurry of theſe Times, have too incon-

inconſiderately ſuffered themſelves to be impoſed upon by a groundleſs Clamour; without either giving themſelves time, or Opportunity to conſider ſeriouſly how unjuſt it is.

For whoever will take the Pains to look back upon the Condition of our former Government, and will reflect as he ought to do upon theſe Laws, and Acquiſitions (and many more there are, all tending in ſome Degree to the ſame Improvement) and any Man, who will weigh what we have already explained as to the Power of the Crown in its *Civil Liſt*, in its *Employments*, or in its *Prerogative*, if he really means nothing but to preſerve this Conſtitution, muſt confeſs that the Liberty and Property of this Nation, never ſtood in any Period of Time, upon ſo ſtrong a Baſis, repaired in every Breach that Time had made, fortified with additional Pillars of prodigious Security, and every Day encreaſing in Solidity by the Effect of Laws, which from the Courſe of Time and Nature muſt take Place in a few Years.

From theſe Reflections it does really appear, that Men betray their Ignorance in the moſt groſs Manner, when they talk in that unmeaning Cant, of the Neceſſity of bringing back our Conſtitution to its firſt Principles, ſo much the Faſhion in theſe Times; for I may defy the ableſt Man in *England* fairly to give the Inſtance of any Period in this Government, where the *Power* of the *Crown* ſtood upon *lower*, or the *Liberty* of the *Subject* upon *higher* Ground than it does at this Day.

Men cannot deny, that *Prerogative* was *reduced*, and the *Conſtitution reſtored* by the *Revolution*; they will not venture to do this, becauſe the Falſhood would be too glaring, but they have taught the People to think, that all theſe Amendments of the Letter of our Conſtitution (if I may ſo expreſs it) are rendered ineffectual by the Increaſe of Influence in the Crown, from *additional Revenues*, and *additional Employments*, ſince that Time. The Fact is totally the Reverſe, as we have ſeen.—Half the Guards and Proviſions for the Liberty of the Subject have been acquired long ſince that Period; every Reign, and almoſt every Parliament have made Additions to the Privileges of the People; inſomuch that the People would be manifeſt Loſers, were they to exchange their Conſtitution for what it was at any one Inſtant of Time, previous even to the laſt Seſſion of Parliament: And this would be more or leſs the Caſe, were they to go back from Year to Year, from this preſent Year 1743, to 1066 the Æra of the Conqueſt.

This Revenue of the Crown, which they magnify ſo much, is demonſtrated to be leſs capable in all Conſiderations to anſwer corrupt Purpoſes, than it was formerly; and we have al-

ready, as it ſhould ſeem, all the Laws, that the Wiſdom of Man can invent, to leſſen its Operation in that way.—If theſe Laws are not effectual, there is too much Reaſon to fear that the Remedy is beyond the Power of Law, and that the Evil muſt ariſe from the Ambition, which is incident to the Nature of all popular Governments, and to the Opulence of this Country, which Circumſtances, coveted by all Nations, and deſirable as they juſtly are upon the whole, were never free from Inconveniencies of this kind; have conſtantly debauched the Morals of every People; and introduced Corruption, in ſome degree, wherever they exiſted.

Thoſe Employments ſaid to be ſo much encreaſed ſince the Revolution, are actually cut off from their Influence upon the Conſtitution, as far as written Laws can do it, in innumerable Inſtances.—Since the 5th of *William* and *Mary*, 1694, no new Employment in the Revenue can be held by any Member of the Houſe of Commons; ſince the 4th of *Anne*, 1705, no new Employment whatſoever, excepting in the *Navy* or the *Army*. Some with very good Intentions wiſh theſe military Offices to be excluded too.---But this Opinion is full of Danger, for whoſoever lives to ſee them *totally* excepted likewiſe, can rationally expect nothing but a military Government.—We have therefore gained a Guard againſt any Encreaſe of this Evil in future, very near as far as it can be prudently deſired.---The *Cuſtoms*, *Exciſe*, *Poſt-Office*, and a Multitude of other Civil Officers, which exiſted long before the Revolution, (and not, as it is falſely conceived,) of later Inſtitution, have been alſo weeded out of Parliament.

It is therefore an abominable Impoſition upon Mankind to inſinuate this Doctrine, neither are the Means of Influence equal, nor do the Laws permit it to be exerted, though the Means did actually exiſt.

If any thing more or better can be deviſed to render our Conſtitution yet more pure, that Man would be very diſhoneſt, who would not endeavour to attain it,---but every Quack Receipt is not a Remedy. The Cure muſt be chiefly looked for in the Virtue of the People, and much Help it might receive from thoſe, who bellow loudeſt againſt Corruption, if they would refuſe to pay its Wages at their own Elections; the Woman once vitiated by one Man, will become an eaſy Proſtitute to any other; and the Countryman corrupted by the Bribe of a *Patriot*, will undoubtedly make no Scruple afterwards to ſell his Vote to any *Miniſterial Hireling*.

What I have ſaid upon theſe Heads, is not intended to deter any honeſt and well conſidered Attempts for any farther Amend-

Amendments in our Conſtitution, if they can be made; but it is intended and ought juſtly to have its Effect ſo far as to convince the Publick, that they are deceived, that their Condition is (whatever Imperfections ſtill remain) in fact infinitely more ſecure than it ever was ſince we have been a Nation; and that therefore the Impatience expreſſed by ſuch Numbers is extravagant, and muſt appear altogether unaccountable to every thinking Man.—Nor is it for this Reaſon eaſy for any Man, the beſt intentioned to the People, to comply with the Humour of theſe Times, becauſe it is impoſſible to know what they would be at, what would content them, or what would be the Limits they would preſcribe to their Demands.---Nor can *this be known*, nor can *they be truſted*, ſo long as they found their Opinions upon falſe Facts, and Doctrines ſo erroneous, as ſo evidently theſe appear to be. I mean not to juſtify any Faults, that have been, or may be committed in the Conduct of our Affairs; but I mean to moderate that Paſſion, which miſguides them in their Reaſonings upon it, which hurries them into ſuch Expectations and Reſentments, as muſt deſtroy the very Bleſſings they enjoy, by graſping after more than it is their real Intereſt to have: It muſt be carried in Remembrance, *that our Conſtitution is a Monarchy, and though limited, yet that the Crown muſt be permitted a conſiderable Share of Power, without which our Government, whatever we may afterwards think fit to call it, will become of another Species, a Species which certainly we are not fitted for, which, as in former Times, we ſhould ſuffer all the Evils of Confuſion in attempting to procure; and which, when procured, we never ſhould be able to maintain.*

Sitting down therefore with Minds grateful and ſenſible of the very great Advantages we now enjoy beyond what our Forefathers ever knew, let us ſtill entertain all reaſonable Views or further Benefit, but without Prejudice or Paſſion; let us correct the Faults, or even amend the Defects of Government, in all Caſes where they are real, and not imaginary, where the Circumſtance of Time will ſuffer it, when we have the Power to do it, and when no worſe Inconveniencies would follow from it.—But let us not meaſure theſe Faults or Defects by the Clamours of a *Faction*; let us conſider, that the Eye of Oppoſition magnifies every Mite of Power, as much as the Eye of Power diminiſhes every Object of popular Complaint. Let us therefore, when we enter upon this Work, engage in it with Moderation, and with a candid and wiſe Reflection, that nothing human can be perfect, that Men will have their Faults as long as they are Men; that we muſt in Government, as well as in other Things, take the Evil with the Good; and that that Nation is happy

upon the whole, where the latter far exceeds the former; this we may ſafely pronounce of the State in which we live, [a] *Vitia erunt donec homines, ſed neque hæc continua, & meliorum interventu penſantur*:---In this State of things, in ſuch a critical Situation of Affairs abroad, in ſuch a Ferment of the People, as we have lately ſeen at home, there can be no Wonder, that Men of Senſe ſhould deſire time to conſider ſeriouſly what farther Alterations may be made with Safety; we may certainly reſt at preſent without any immediate Fear for Liberty, if not, it is difficult to comprehend how our Anceſtors, who fell ſo ſhort of us, as we have ſhewn in this reſpect, preſerved their own, or delivered any down to us.---From the Sketch, that has been offered of the laſt *Place-Bill*, we ſee that we ſhall obtain in five Years, and perhaps much ſooner, a great additional Security. If there be Truth in the Suggeſtions of the *Faction*, that every Member of Parliament poſſeſſed of an Employment, is byaſſed by it, and would act differently if he had it not (however falſely they have repreſented that Law,) it will make a mighty Difference in our future Parliaments. Though this ſhort Period may be thought long, by the Members of a *Faction*, to wait for a Turn of Affairs, that may bring them into Office, it cannot be thought long, by any honeſt and diſintereſted Man, to wait for the Benefit of this Conſtitutional Alteration.—Such a Man will conſider, that *Exceſs* in Regulations of this kind, brings equal Danger on the one hand, as *Imperfection* might in Time produce upon the other.---Such a Man would be unwilling to act precipitately in a Matter of this Moment, would proceed by Degrees, would deſire to experience the Effect of every one Law of this Nature, before he ventured to promote another.---Such a Man will attach himſelf neither to the *Regal* nor to the *Popular Power*.---He will fix his Attention ſolely to maintain the true Ballance of this Government.---He will be neither moved by Diſappointments from the Crown, nor by Abuſes from the People.---He will act reſolutely with *either*, when they are *right*.---He will oppoſe *both* vigorouſly, in their Turns, when they are *wrong*.---His ſole View in Power, or out of Power will be the Good of his Country.---His Study will be, to ſupport the Crown, without flattering the Prince.---And he will conſider more the *real Service* of the People, than their *giddy Approbation*.---He will neither be ſettered by general Maxims, nor tied to any chimerical Syſtem, but will be governed by Times and Circumſtances, of which he will endeavour faithfully to make the beſt Advantage for the Publick.---Such a Man is a

[a] *Tacit. Hiſt. Lib.* 4.

true

true Patriot, whoſe Fate it will ſometimes be, to appear in the vulgar Apprehenſion unſteady, when he is moſt conſtant, and inconſiſtent when he is moſt conſiſtent. This muſt often be the Caſe in thoſe Countries, where Characters are won or loſt by *Party* rather than by *Principle:* And ſuch is undoubtedly the Caſe of this Country in which we live.

It is now time to think of drawing towards a Concluſion of this Paper, which has ſwelled to a greater Size than is common in Works of this kind, but which the Nature of the Thing, and the great Field of Matter I have been obliged to travel through, have rendered unavoidable. Many Suggeſtions and fallacious Reaſonings have been paſſed upon the Publick in theſe confuſed Times, of which even yet I have taken no Notice.—But I have obſerved upon thoſe of moſt Importance, and it would be not only endleſs, but abſurd, to attempt an Anſwer to all thoſe Points, upon which the ſimple Part of the People have been lately entertained.—Perhaps I have rather gone too far in this Attempt already in ſome Reſpects; for it is very obvious, that the greater Part of the Arguments employed by the *Faction* againſt whom I write are of a Nature, which renders them of all others the moſt unanſwerable,--they have the Property which a great Author aſcribes to Nonſenſe,—*Nonſenſe*, ſays he, *ſtands upon its own Baſis, like a Rock of Adamant,---there is no Place about it weaker than another,---the Major and the Minor are of equal Strength.---Its Queſtions admit of no Reply, and its Aſſertions are not to be invalidated; if it affirms any Thing you cannot lay hold of it; or if it denies, you cannot confute it:—In a word, there are greater Intricacies in an elaborate and well written Piece of Nonſenſe, than in the moſt profound Tract of School-Divinity.*—Such are the Productions of the *Faction* of this Time; and the ſame Author obſerves, that of this Nature have always been the Productions of the ſame Men; nor can we form by any more unerring Rule our firſt Suſpicions of the Nature of any *Faction* in this Country: a *Jacobite Faction*, or a *Tory Party* (which as we have fully ſhewn before, is by unavoidable Fatality always led by *Jacobites*, whether they know it or not) eternally *hath*, *doth*, *will*, and *muſt* fight in Entrenchments of this kind.

The preſent *Faction*, from hence at firſt naturally ſuſpected, has at length been fully detected, by all their Endeavours to preſerve *France*, to ſacrifice the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and to poiſon the Principles of the People to the Proteſtant Succeſſion, and to the Family now upon the Throne, by the Arts uſed to inflame the People, which have been the ſame that were ever uſed by the ſame *Faction*, and by the Tendency of every Point with which they goad the People on to Diſcontent and Diſſatisfaction; which

Points

Points incontrovertibly appear, when viewed in a true Light, to consist in these three Heads; 1. *The Destruction of the* Whigs, *and the Elevation of the* Jacobite Interest *under the specious Name of* Tories; 2. *The Expulsion of the present Royal Family*; 3. *The Change of the Constitution of this Kingdom.* As this is undeniably evinced by the *Deduction* of their *Conduct*, and the *Examination* of their *Principles*, and the *Evidence* of the *Facts* contained in the preceeding Pages, every Man of Honesty will think me warranted in this Undertaking to maintain, and every Man of Sense will know, that I have sufficiently maintained, that Proposition, which I laid down in the Beginning of these Papers, as my principal Point to prove, *viz. That the Opposition of this Time is not an* Opposition, *but a* Faction; *and that of the most dangerous kind to this Nation.*

And now the Heads of the *Faction* for their last Resource will seek to shelter, and will throw themselves among that general Herd, whom they for a while have led, but they will find no Protection there, they are singled out; the Rest will see whom we have marked, will separate, and retire from the Society of those, with whom they can associate no longer, without the utmost Danger.

We make no Doubt, that they will labour to revive the false Opinion, that the Principles of their *Faction* are not to be apprehended; it is the constant Publick Topic of Discourse with *Jacobites*, that there is not a *Jacobite* in *England.* But they have opened themselves too far, their Views have been too glaring, they have unmasked too soon, and it avails nothing for a Man to deny *the Name*, while he pursues *the Thing*; it will be hard to convince a rational Being, that a Party, driving at this furious Rate, as we have seen, in such a Road, can have any other View; were it for Preferment and Employments only, it is a villainous Pursuit when followed by these means, and without enquiring who are the Men, how many, that are actuated by the *first*, or that concur on Account of the *second* View, it is fully sufficient for the Publick, that the Conduct of the *Faction* manifestly leads to this fatal End.

But at the same time that we say this justly of the general Tendency of the present Opposition, it would be highly unjust to make no Distinction, or to charge the Bulk of those Individuals, of which this *Faction* has been hitherto composed, with the *same Principles.*—We do it not;—we are very sensible that different Motives of Discontent, and even of mistaken Honesty, have certainly drawn in many well-meaning Men to associate with them. Yet I must freely say thus much even of these, and of all who are concerned with them, that though they may

eſcape the Depth of Cenſure, which is due to thoſe by whom they are thus pitifully led, they are not wholly free from Blame, in tampering with Government, without taking any Pains to inform themſelves; and ſome of them are undoubtedly guilty of a Crime, ſtill much leſs to be excuſed, *viz.* that of reſigning their Judgments to other Men, (as it is too much the Caſe of all Parties) with a View one Time or other, to promote or advance their private Intereſts by it. The Corruption is equal, to abandon the Will to the *Proſpect* of Advantage, as to the *Poſſeſſion* of it; and it is conſequently as wicked to oppoſe for the *Expectation*, (though more popularly wicked) as to ſupport Government for the *preſent Profit* of Employments.—God and themſelves only know how many of the *Faction* are culpable in this.—But let them weigh it well, and whether the Danger to the Publick is not equal in both Caſes.—Others there are who, from want of Courage to ſtand againſt unjuſt Calumny, are dragged along, againſt their Wills, by the Fury of their Party,—of theſe no better can be ſaid, than that they are Cowards, and do not deſerve the Name of Men.—There is yet another Claſs, whoſe Intereſt in their Countries and their Boroughs, compel them to flatter the heated Imaginations, corrupt Principles, or fluctuating Humours of thoſe they repreſent; but this, if duly conſidered, is as great Corruption as the reſt, and the Bottom of it is nothing better than unwarrantable Vanity, or a Preference of their own private Intereſt to that of the Commonwealth.—And there is yet a fourth Set of Men, who by their Pride and Reſentments to the Crown, or to the Adminiſtration, for that want of Deference and Reſpect, which cannot be extended to all who deſerve it, and is often expected by thoſe who deſerve it not, are driven into this Extravagance.—Though this is indeed that Evil to which generous Spirits are the moſt expoſed, yet no conſiderate Man can think, that this, or any Motive in the World, can be a ſufficient Excuſe for any one to concur in the Deſtruction of his Country.

If the Bulk of thoſe who now aſſociate with this *Faction* reflect carefully upon theſe Things, and if all under theſe different Circumſtances, edify as they ought to do by theſe Reflections, I may venture to affirm, that it will, in a ſhort time, make that Figure, which it is the Wiſh of every honeſt Man to ſee it make. Leaving therefore theſe Gentlemen to their own Reflections, I ſhall now ſum up what I have chiefly endeavoured to inculcate in the preceding Pages, in a few Conſiderations, which I ſubmit to the general Maſs of Men.

1. Whether the Avowal of Principles, and the Purſuit of a Conduct directly tending to ſerve, ſave, and aggrandize, and

to divert the Attention of the People from the Danger of their Eternal and Implacable Enemy the *French*, obſtructing all Means for the Support, and giving up the Balance, of Power, under Pretences either of Inability, Inutility, on any Plea whatever, labouring to deſtroy the Faith of our Treaties, and contending for the Deſertion of our Allies, ſuggeſting an abſurd, infamous and evidently diſproved Propoſition, that we fight only for the Service of a Foreign Territory, endeavouring to prejudice the People againſt the *Whigs*, and to poiſon the whole Affections of the Nation to their *preſent Prince*, and to the *Proteſtant Succeſſion*, was not the direct Conduct, in all its Parts, of a *Jacobite Faction*, under the deluſive Title of a *Tory Party*, in the Reigns of King *William* and Queen *Anne?*

2. Let them conſider, to what Point they were hurried by that *Faction*. Whether it did not end in the Preſervation of *France*, whom nothing elſe could have then ſaved, and in the Confuſion of their own Country, which nothing leſs than the Providence of God could have afterwards preſerved? Whether the Fruits of the Blood of 200,000 Men, and of 70 Millions of Money ſpent in that late long War, were not caſt away by this Conduct of that *Faction?* Whether the Reſtoration of *France*, has not created 30 *Millions* of unneceſſary Expence ſince that Time, a Rebellion which coſt *a Million* in the next Reign, the Neceſſity of double the Army in Times of Peace, that we ſhould otherwiſe have had Occaſion to maintain, and the vaſt Expences we muſt now incur anew, to reduce within due Bounds the exorbitant Power of the Houſe of *Bourbon?*

3. Whether there be any other Way to learn the Principles of Men, than by comparing their former with their preſent Conduct, or to judge of the future Effects of their preſent, but by the paſt Conſequences of their former Conduct? Whether the very individual Methods are not now purſued by the preſent Oppoſition, that were purſued by the *Jacobite Faction* of that Time? Whether therefore any Man who can reaſon at all, can conclude the preſent Oppoſition (whatever Pretences it may uſe, or whatever Title it may bear) to be any other than a direct and apparent Faction of the ſame kind?

4. Whether the ſame Tree muſt not, by all the Laws of Nature, conſtantly produce the ſame Fruit; the like Cauſes, the like Effects; and then what muſt be the Fruit and the Effect of the Meaſures of the preſent Faction?

5. Let the *Tories* in particular (I ſpeak not to thoſe *Jacobites* who aſſume the Name, but to thoſe who are really no more than honeſt and well-meaning Men, and ſuch in general they are, who have inherited that Appellation becauſe their Parents

Parents were ſuch, or becauſe of their Intereſts in their Corporations, or the Company they keep) let theſe, I ſay, conſider, whether they ever got any Thing by joining with a *Jacobite Faction*, but Miſery to their Country, and Shame to themſelves? Whether they were ever led by a *Jacobite Faction*, but that they became their Dupes? Whether they were ever engaged with a *Jacobite Faction*, but they were brought to repent, and forced to recant at laſt? Whether they ever knew their Men, or ſaw their Danger, till it was almoſt too late to repent, and uſeleſs to recant? Whether they have not ever been carried away by *Names* inſtead of *Things*? And whether the Cry about *Hanover* now, is not what the Cry about the *Church* was formerly, raiſed and fomented with as little Reaſon, and for the ſame vile Purpoſe? Whether they have not too much Honeſty to ſupport an Alliance with a *Jacobite Faction*, to its End and Iſſue? Let them reflect, whether by acting as they now do, they put it not out of the Power of their beſt intentioned Friends to aboliſh thoſe unhappy Party-Diſtinctions, which every well-meaning Man ſincerely wiſhes to deſtroy? and which he will ſincerely labour to deſtroy (whenever their Moderation can make it ſafe or poſſible) by a juſt and equal Advancement of Merit, where-ever it is found in *Individuals* among them? But let them conſider fairly, how apt they have been on all Occaſions to aſſociate with, and to be guided by, Men of worſe Principles, and for this Reaſon, whether they can expect it, while they continue to unite with theſe Men, and while they claim it *as a Party*, which is their preſent Caſe.

6. Let the few *Republicans*, and *Whigs*, whoſe Heat, Paſſions and Diſappointments have *ſteeled* them into the Temper of *Republicans*, conſider, whether a *Republican*, and ſuch a *Whig*, when in Alliance with a *Jacobite Faction*, is any thing elſe, or better, than the *Jackall* to the *Lyon*, with whom he is, for a Time, allowed the Honour to hunt, but with whom he will never be permitted to divide the Prey? Let them analyſe that Philter, they have taken to ſtimulate this unnatural Affection, and reflect that ſuch a Copulation can engender nothing but a Monſter.

Quale Portentum neque Militaris
Daunia in latis alit Eſculetis;
Nec Jubæ Tellus generat.——— Hor.

7. Let the honeſt *Whigs* conſider, how often their Firmneſs and good Senſe have ſaved their Country, and whether any thing but Union among themſelves can do it now? Whether particular Points, though moſt undeniably ſuited to the *Whig Principle*, ought to be purſued, nay may not even conſiſtently

be for a time oppoſed by *Whigs*, in a Conjuncture, when by a Chain of Circumſtances, that Purſuit would not be only vain in itſelf, but tend to deſtroy the *Whig Intereſt?*—Whether the Support of *that* ought not to be the primary Conſideration? And whether the gaining a few popular Laws (were this even certainly the Caſe) at the Expence of *that*, would be for the Benefit of this Country? Whether the popular Laws we now have, or thoſe we might perhaps acquire, could be long preſerved after the Ruin of that Intereſt? Whether therefore it is not below the Underſtanding of a *Whig*, to drop the *Subſtance* in this manner for the *Shadow?* Whether for this Reaſon it is not more prudent to content ourſelves awhile with what we have already, and to wait a ſafer Opportunity to exert ourſelves for the farther Improvement of our Conſtitution? Whether we ſhould not make a fooliſh Bargain for our Country, if while we were hunting after ſome ſeemingly convenient, but yet (after all) precarious Advantages at home, we ſhould ſuffer a Foreign Power inſenſibly to become our Maſter? Or while we were too paſſionately engaged in puſhing for the farther Advancement of our Liberty, we ſhould raſhly throw our Government into the Hands of a Family, who muſt in all Probability deſtroy it, or gradually wreſt it out of that Line, which is demonſtrably moſt likely to preſerve it?—Whether therefore it is not our Buſineſs, in our preſent Situation, to ſettle and conſolidate our Government, which has been not a little ſhaken in the Tempeſt of the late Times, than (before that is done) to run any new Riſque, in attempting to be *better* than *well?*

8. Let the Publick conſider fairly, whether every one of thoſe Points, upon which they have been of late ſo furiouſly inflamed, are not wilfully and wickedly miſrepreſented, and already proved, by the Event, to be notoriouſly falſe in every Inſtance?—As to the Refuſal of the *Heſſians* to march,--the Inability of the *Hanoverians* to act,—the Acceſſion of the *Dutch*,---the Infidelity of the King of *Sardinia*,---the unjuſt Reflections on the King, as not intending to aſſiſt in his Electoral Capacity,---the Veto of the King of *Pruſſia*,---the Impoſſibility of ſaving the Queen of *Hungary*, and of reſiſting *France*;—let them reflect, to what we ſhould have been reduced, if we had followed the Advice of the *Faction*, and then reſolve, whether they can follow them any longer, without Ignominy to themſelves, and Deſtruction to their Country?

9. Let the Popular Intereſt conſider, as to all their Popular Purſuits, what was their Original View in Oppoſition? with what they would have been contented, and for what they would have willingly compounded a little time ago? And if their Expectations

pectations are to grow with their Succeſs, how they can ever be contended? Whether they have not got the End? and if they have, whether it is not Folly to purſue the Means? Whether if the Power of the Crown, and of the Lords, were greatly leſs, the Commons could be long without engroſſing all? Let them examine, whether it is not their Nature, and that of every People, to riſe in their Demands for Power, as they encreaſe in it? Whether, if they had as much more, as ſome very honeſtly, though very inconſiderately, contend for, they could curb this Nature in themſelves? and whether if they had ſo much, and could not curb it, the whole Legiſlature could prevent their having all? Whether their having all would be truly for their Advantage? Whether in any one Period of our Government they had half ſo much? And finally (if they can be impartial and reaſon fairly) whether it is not evident, that their preſent Views and Diſcontents are not, in ſome meaſure, owing to what they have already? Whether thoſe Gentlemen, who quitted the late Oppoſition, at the Time they did it, inſtead of deſerting, have not ſaved their Country? Whether they have not acted the Part of a tender Phyſician to a ſick Patient? Whether, if they have deceived the People, (as it is called,) they have not done it, becauſe there was no other way to bring them to do that which was neceſſary for their Health? And whether the *People* are not as unjuſt to theſe Men, after what has been done by their Means, as the *Patient* would be, who after he was cured of a dangerous Diſeaſe, ſhould quarrel with his Phyſician, for having given him too good an Opinion of his Medicine, during the Time of his Diſtemper, or abuſe him for deſiſting afterwards to preſcribe the farther Uſe of it for his daily Food.

10. Let them then conſider how they can anſwer, either to God or to their Country, that wicked and cruel Treatment they have given to thoſe true Patriots, who have ſtood their Ground, with equal Steadineſs, againſt the late Miniſter, and the preſent tempeſtuous *Faction*; and how they can ever make theſe Men amends, for the Inſults they have received, for the Loſs of their Intereſts in their Reſpective Countries, and the Foundation they have laid of the future Difficulties they muſt infallibly hereafter undergo, by the Revival of a *Faction*, which, when once raiſed, will never fail to perſecute and infeſt all honeſt Men? Or what Retaliation is it in their Power to give to thoſe, who by popular Credulity, Folly, Paſſion and Intemperance, have endured that Load of Infamy and Malice, which has been caſt upon them with ſuch unparelleled Injuſtice, and which a worthy Man would have ſooner ſubmit-

ted to Death, than have ſuffered an Hour, if the Safety of his Country and every Thing, that was near, dear and valuable to it, had not depended upon this Sacrifice?

11. Let the People conſider, (and they will conſider it, if they have any Remorſe in the Compoſition of their Souls,) how they ought to bluſh at the baſe Encouragement they have given to the perſonal Abuſe of his Majeſty; who inſtead of liſtning to the inſidious Offers of *France*, as ſome other great Electors of the Empire have done, and inſtead of projecting any Advantage to his Foreign Dominions, which he might have greatly encreaſed out of the Spoil of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, if he would have baſely concurred to its Deſtruction; and which, (notwithſtanding all the impudent Aſſertions of the *Faction*,) there is no Proſpect of his being able to encreaſe any other way, hath put himſelf to a very great Expence, from the very Commencement of the preſent Confuſions of *Europe*, and expoſed thoſe Dominions to the utmoſt Hazard with no other View, but to maintain the Cauſe of Juſtice, the Ballance of Power, and the Intereſt of *Great Britain*. Let them inform themſelves; let them examine the Situation of his Countries, the Power, Views, Titles and Intereſts of all his Neighbours; and let them point out one ſingle Spot of Ground, that it is poſſible for him, in the Nature of Things, to acquire in addition to his Electoral Dominions, by the Iſſue of this Conteſt.—And let them afterwards reflect how ſcandalous beyond all Meaſure, it has been to convert that very Hazard, and the Difficulties into which he and his Electorate have been lately brought, by his Attachment to the ſole Intereſt of this Country, into the wicked Pretence, that his Tenderneſs to thoſe Dominions, which he ſo freely ventured, has been the Cauſe of the War, and the Motive of his generous Conduct. Let them then generouſly and honeſtly acknowledge, how ungratefully and wickedly they have concurred, upon Grounds ſo utterly falſe, to alienate the Affection of the Nation, from the Perſon and Family of a Prince, who has ſacrificed every private Intereſt to the Intereſts of *Great Britain*,—who has ſupported his Ally with that Steadineſs, Sincerity, and good Faith, which would have rendered a private Man an Ornament to the Society in which he lived,—who, in this Juſt, and Neceſſary Cauſe, has expoſed his Perſon to the Dangers of War, as much as the meaneſt private Soldier in his Armies,—and is now at the Head of his Troops, in a Foreign Country, animating the Courage of the *Britiſh* Nation, and reſtoring the Antient Glory of the Royal Race of *Plantagenets*, from which he is deſcended, the braveſt Line of Princes that ever ſat upon the Throne of any Nation.

12.

12. Let them reflect upon their Ingratitude to Providence, and their more than *Jewiſh* Obſtinacy, and Hardneſs of Heart, in the Inſenſibility ſhewn by ſo many upon the great Deliverance they have lately had, in their Eſcape from the imminent Dangers threatned to the Liberties of the whole World, and in the late miraculous Turn that has appeared in our Favour ſince the late Change of the Adminiſtration.

13. Let them conſider, that if we improve theſe Advantages as we ought, we have now a Confederacy formed (with farther Proſpects of additional Aid) conſiſting of above 300,000 of the beſt Troops in *Europe*; that we come freſh into the Quarrel; that *France*, by the entire Ruin of the Emperor, is left without Allies, reduced, by a Series of ill Succeſs, and unfortunate Events, to the loweſt Degree.—And that therefore, if we follow the Blow, we have the faireſt Expectation, not only to get out of the Difficulties, which we had lately ſo much Reaſon to think would prove our Ruin, but to reduce that enormous Power within due Limits for a long Time to come, and that nothing but our own Impatience, and the deluſive Practices of a *Jacobite Faction*, can hinder us now, from what they prevented once before by the ſame individual Arts, in a parallel Conjuncture.—In a word, let any Man lay his Hand upon his Heart, and ſay whether he thinks we are never to expect, or can always avoid a War with *France?* And when he has anſwered (for who can honeſtly or rationally anſwer otherwiſe) that the Growth and Ambition of that Power, her Breach of Treaties, our Rivalſhip in Trade, the natural Antipathy and Jealouſies of the two Nations, muſt bring it unavoidably upon us in a ſhort Time, though we ſhould decline it for the preſent; let him then ſay, whether there can be any Senſe left in the People of *England*, if they are not earneſtly deſirous to enter into it, and to puſh it with the utmoſt Vigour now? When we can do it with ſo manifeſt Advantage? When we ſtand in a Situation, in which we can hardly hope ever to find ourſelves again? At which we could not flatter ourſelves to arrive hereafter, even in three Campaigns, attended with the moſt miraculous Succeſs?—And in fine, as to the Method of the War, whether any thing is more chimerical than the modern Fancy, of engaging with *France*, by our Maritime Force only? Whether the Trade of *England* would not ſuffer, during the Continuance of ſuch a War, as much, if not more, than the Trade of *France?*—Whether *France* has not greater Reſources without Trade, or during a Suſpenſion of Trade, than *England?* Whether therefore any Diſtreſs that we might create to *France* by ſuch a War, would be more than temporary, or could be ſufficient to bring it to a

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ſafe or ſound Concluſion? Whether we can imagine effectually or durably to reduce her, or to ſecure ourſelves for any long Continuance againſt her Power, by any other means, than by diſmembring ſome of her ill-gotten Provinces, and preventing any farther Encreaſe of her Dominions upon the Continent? Whether this *can be* done otherwiſe, than by joining with *her Enemies* and *our Allies* in a *Land War?* And if this *cannot be* done otherwiſe (whatever may be the Expence or Inconvenience of ſuch an *Undertaking*) whether it is not Madneſs, or ſomething worſe, to oppoſe its being *undertaken*.

Should theſe Conſiderations have no Effect upon the Publick we are a Nation doom'd and devoted to Deſtruction: Our Government will be totally confounded by novel, falſe, captivating and deceitful Maxims; our Conſtitution overwhelmed and buried in the Ruins of *Faction*. What Fabrick the Enemies of this Country may rebuild, is neither yet known to themſelves or me; nor when this happy Form of Government, the venerable Work of ſo many Ages, ſhall be no more; will it be much worth the while of any Man among us to regard? Inſtead therefore of fomenting every Subject of Uneaſineſs, ungratefully repining at every Bleſſing and Advantage, which we ſo viſibly and abundantly enjoy, above all other Kingdoms of this habitable Earth, let us turn our Thoughts upon that immenſe Wealth, Power and Dominion, which is ſtill in the Train of Great Augmentation; upon that Conſtitutional Security, however wickedly miſrepreſented, which we ſtill, in a high degree, enjoy at home, and the Terror, which upon all juſt Occaſions, we are able to ſtrike through Foreign Nations. Inſtead of dwelling upon improbable and diſtant Dangers, which certainly never were ſo far removed from us, as at this very Time, let us reflect upon our uncommon, and almoſt unpreſidented Happineſs. Inſtead of alarming our Minds, and heating our Imaginations with the Stories of Evils that have attended the Loſs of Liberty in other Countries, in which, during the Courſe of the late Oppoſition, we have been ſufficiently inſtructed, let us for a while apply ourſelves to a Study more neceſſary at this Time, that of tracing the true Cauſes, which have brought this Loſs of Liberty, and thoſe Evils which attend it, upon Every People, who once were, and are now no longer free. If we do this, we ſhall learn, that perfect Liberty and immenſe Riches, with its conſtant Attendants, Licentiouſneſs, Luxury, an unbounded Thirſt after Wealth, a Want of Morals, and an Impatience of all Government and Diſcipline, inflamed by the *Factions* of private Men, for their own private Ambition, cloaked under publick Pretences, have ripened and brought to Maturity all theſe Miſ-

chiefs in the World. Let us therefore, conſcious of our Proſperity, and ſenſible of the Dangers to which we naturally ſtand by that very Proſperity expoſed, fly the deluſive Arts of factious Men, who now endeavour to avail themſelves of theſe Circumſtances, and practiſe upon us in the Manner they have ever done in all former Ages: *Ut imperium evertant Libertatem præferunt, cum perverterunt ipſam aggrediuntur. Ceterum Libertas et ſpecioſa nomina prætexuntur. Nec quiſquam alienum ſervitium, et dominationem ſibi concupivit, ut non eadem iſta vocabula uſurparet.* Tacit. Hiſt. Lib. 4.

F I N I S.